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TO HIS MAJESTY  
**KING GUSTAF VI ADOLF**  
THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED  
IN HUMBLE GRATITUDE  
AND LOYAL HOMAGE

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# THE MAGIC FOUNTAIN IN CHINESE CERAMIC ART

AN EXERCISE IN ILLUSTRATIONAL INTERPRETATION

BY

*PERCIVAL DAVID*

Much has been written on the illustrational content of Chinese ceramic art, and a great many of the designs chosen for decoration by the Chinese potter have been traced to their sources. They have been found to derive from history or mythology, legend, religion or romance. But they seldom depict the scenes or incidents from these sources with any degree of accuracy. The individualism of the Chinese artist-potter almost always asserts itself in the disposition of his pictorial elements, and he invariably gives way to a certain poetic licence in his composition. Moreover, in his avid search for novel ideas — and from d'Entrecolles we know how eager he was to enlarge his repertory of designs — he resorts for inspiration to as many of the obscure and rather indifferent European drawings and engravings that reached China as he had access to. Examples of such work of his prior to the K'ang-hsi period (1662—1722), however, are rare, and in the few early instances that have come to our notice the artist-potter for one or more of these reasons seems to have succeeded in baffling his interpreters. The design that I propose to discuss is I think a case in point.

Figs. 1 and 2 (by courtesy of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art) illustrate a blue and white bottle-shaped porcelain vase in the Foundation that bears my name. Its dimensions are as follow: Height: 12" (30.5 cm.); Diameter of body: 5.75" (14.5 cm.); Depth of foot: .4" (1 cm.). The ware of the vase is white and fairly dense and clear, though it is not the lustrous and unctuous *pâte* of 14th or 15th century blue and white wares. It has the tendency of Ming Kiangsi clay to turn a rusty brown where exposed to the fire of the kiln, a tendency that is indicative of the tell-tale presence of iron. The reader will recall, in this connection, that at the end of the 15th century the Ma-ts'ang clay quarries in Kiangsi were reported as fast becoming depleted, and the deterioration of the clay used in the manufacture of later Ming pieces, mined as it had to be from the kaolin quarries at Wu-men-t'o, is well exemplified I think in the relatively inferior quality of the paste of this vase. Its glaze however is fairly thick; but it is not as thick or as even or as pure as that of the 15th century ware, and it has no »palm-eye markings«. Its blue is

a dark violet in tone, of the blended *shih ch'ing* and *hui-hui ch'ing* class, and though the vase is not a product of the Imperial Porcelain Factory, it is a singularly attractive and well-constructed specimen of a type of ware which may be attributed to one of the better class private Kiangsi factories of the Chia-ching period (1522—1566).

As such, it enjoys a number of distinctive features which are absent from the Imperial wares of the time, but which are none the less not disagreeable. It is clearly not a product of the assembly-line technique of these wares whereby, as d'Entrecolles tells us, a single specimen had to pass through the hands of a long succession of craftsmen — sometimes as many as seventy — before it was completed. Unlike these imperially destined pieces, which were required to conform strictly to certain well-defined patterns of shape, design and colour, the private factory products often show a freedom of treatment and a stamp of individuality in composition and design that are peculiar to the genius of the Chinese craftsman, qualities which are found lacking in many of the technically finer and mechanically more perfect but rather unimaginative Imperial wares.

The subject of decoration of this vase is strange, and I think not without interest. As early as 1878, its curious design was noticed by Sir Augustus Franks, a specimen in whose collection (now in the British Museum) is thus described: »Ewer, with long straight spout. Chinese porcelain painted in blue; on each side a fountain with a kylin at the base; around the circular foot a pattern of sea-waves; various ornaments on neck, handle, and spout. Mark, white hare on a blue ground. H. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ "<sup>1</sup>). (Fig. 3, by courtesy of the British Museum).

A similar vessel was shown at the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Oriental Blue and White Porcelain in 1895<sup>2</sup>), and in 1915 Hobson, who describes this type of ewer as of Persian form, refers to two of them in detail, the specimen in the British Museum and another which was in the collection of the late Dr. C. G. Seligman<sup>3</sup>). In a subsequent article, he illustrates and describes the former in this way: »It (*i. e.* its decoration) represents the fabulous kylin at the base of a fountain of Italian Renaissance style. One asks what is the Italian fountain doing in this *galère*? The answer is that it was an early instance of a phenomenon which was frequent enough a few decades later: European influence in Chinese porcelain. Nor is a further explanation far to seek. Ever since the Portuguese established trade with China in the first half of the sixteenth century, Jesuit missionaries had been arriving in a thin but steady stream. The Italian, Matteo Ricci, for instance, had found his way to fame at Peking in the reign of Wan-li, and made his influence felt in many other matters than religion. But whatever the origin of this curious fountain design, it must have been repeated many times, for there are several

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<sup>1</sup>) Franks, A. W., *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery*, London, 1878.

<sup>2</sup>) (Monkhouse, Cosmo) Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Blue and White Oriental Porcelain*, London, 1895, p. 40, No. 300. The specimen was lent by the late A. de Pass.

<sup>3</sup>) Hobson, R. L., *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, London, 1915, II, p. 67.



examples in England today, while there is one at least in the *Chini-hane*, or porcelain house attached to the mosque at Ardebil in Persia, where are stored some five hundred pieces of Chinese porcelain collected by Shah Abbas (1587—1628)<sup>1)</sup>. The ewer in the Ardebil Collection was recorded and illustrated by Professor Sarre over fifty years ago.<sup>2)</sup> At a later date, Sarre refers to a similar vessel in the Hamburg Museum of Art and Industry and to yet another which he had himself acquired in Tehran and which he says may itself have been an Ardebil piece.<sup>3)</sup> The Ardebil ewer Mr. John Pope, Associate Director of the Freer Gallery of Art at Washington, D. C. kindly informs me, is now in the National Museum at Tehran.

An interesting version of the same type of vessel that is similarly decorated was illustrated and discussed by Hobson at a meeting of the Oriental Ceramic Society in 1933<sup>4)</sup> (Fig. 4). This piece is in the Saraye Collection at Istanbul, where, Mr. Pope tells me, there are no less than seven others decorated with the same queer fountain design. But the ewer illustrated by Hobson which he and I came upon on our visit to the Saraye is distinctive, inasmuch as it is additionally decorated with floral emblems in contemporary red, green and yellow enamels. No other example of this type of vessel is recorded as so decorated. Dr. Feddersen, illustrating the blue and white ewer in the Hamburg Museum, dismisses the subject of its decoration by simply calling it un-Chinese,<sup>5)</sup> while Mr. Honey contents himself by describing it as «a queer version of a European Renaissance fountain».<sup>6)</sup> A damaged specimen of this same type of vessel was shown in the Philadelphia Museum Exhibition of Ming Blue and White Porcelain in 1949, in the *Catalogue* of which its design is described as of «a Persian fountain supported by *ch'i-lin*».<sup>7)</sup> But this tale of «fountain ewers», long as it is already, is I feel sure far from complete, and I shall be grateful for photographs and particulars of other examples that may have come to the notice of my readers. They may help to throw additional light on the identification of their decor.

Of the dozen or so examples that I have mentioned, with the exception of the vessel in the Foundation, which is a bottle-shaped vase of an elongated *yü-hu-ch'un* type, all the rest are ewers. Moreover, all these ewers are decorated with a *ch'i-lin*

<sup>1)</sup> *Country Life*, XLIX, London, January 1921, «Chinese Art in England», by R. L. Hobson, pp. 8—9 and fig. 9. See also *Wares of the Ming Dymasty*, London, 1923, p. 140, and the *British Museum Handbook of the Pottery and Porcelain of the Far East in the Department of Oriental Antiquities and Ethnography*, London, 1937, p. 60, by the same author.

<sup>2)</sup> Sarre, Friedrich, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 41 and 43 and fig. 44, reproduced in Münsterberg, Oskar, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*, Esslingen, 1912, II, fig. 415, and Hannover, Emil, *Pottery and Porcelain*, translated from the Danish and edited by Bernard Rackham, London, 1925, II, *The Far East*, fig. 133.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin, 1919—20, VIII, pp. 340—41, and pl. V, fig. 5.

<sup>4)</sup> *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society for 1933—34*, «Chinese Porcelain at Constantinople», by R. L. Hobson, p. 14, and pl. VI b.

<sup>5)</sup> Feddersen, M., *Chinesisches Kunstgewerbe*, Berlin, 1939, pp. 62—63, and fig. 46.

<sup>6)</sup> Honey, W. B., *The Ceramic Art of China and other Countries of the Far East*, London, 1945, p. 144.

<sup>7)</sup> *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin*, Philadelphia, Autumn 1949, XLIV, No. 300.

on either side of the body of the vessel bearing »the strange-looking fountain» on its back.<sup>1)</sup> But the vase in the Foundation has, curiously enough, a horse on one side and an elephant on the other, officiating as the beast of burden.

What does this »strange-looking fountain» represent, and what is the source of its fantastic design? Writers who have discussed it have all been puzzled by its un-Chinese character and its almost startling strangeness. Most of them have dismissed discussion of its subject with a simple *non possumus*. Only Hobson seems to have been seriously interested in its decor, for he reverts to it again and again in the course of his writings, though without attempting to suggest any explanation of its origin or significance.

Beyond, then, a general agreement that this design is of a fountain of some sort, no further identification has been attempted by writers on ceramic art. In a recent letter to me on the subject, Mr. Pope writes: »The thing that really puzzles me about these ewers is that while we commonly refer to them as being decorated with a Persian fountain, I have not yet seen the prototype in Persian art. Can it not be European in origin?». But neither has a European prototype of this queer fountain design been recorded, and it seems to have baffled all the ceramic authorities who have had occasion to refer to it. Nor does the Chinese artist-potter who drew it from his pattern-book of designs seem to have been in much better state. So puzzled was he apparently by this particular sketch that he has described a variety of marks on the base of the several examples that were turned out by him. The commonest of these marks is the hare emblem (Fig. 5, by courtesy of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art) which is the mark on the base of the British Museum ewer, as well as of eight others in the Topkapu Saraye. The hare mark also appears on the vase in the Foundation. The ewer from the Ardebil Collection, on the other hand, has a 16th century version of the six-character Hsüan-tê mark within a double-lined circle, while the ewer in Istanbul with the additional enamel embellishments has the invocational 天下太平 *T'ien hsia t'ai p'ing* (»Great Peace throughout the World») inscribed in blue on its base, and two others in the same collection the dedicatory inscription 永保長春 *Yung pao ch'ang ch'un* (»Ever preserving and lasting Prosperity»). Almost as common as the hare emblem is the mark that has been variously read as 三 *san* (three) or ≡ the unalloyed male principle in nature, which forms one of the *pa-kua* signs, and which corresponds to heaven (*ch'ien*) in the diagrammatic symbolism of the early Chinese philosophers<sup>2)</sup>. This occurs on the Seligman, the Philadelphia

<sup>1)</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Pope for the information relative to the marks of the ewers in the Ardebil and Istanbul Collections.

<sup>2)</sup> Despite the antiquity claimed for them — their origin is attributed to the legendary Fu Hsi (2852 B. C.) — I myself have never come upon a representation of the *pa-kua* or *yin-yang* symbols in Chinese art earlier in date than the Han dynasty (206 B. C.—A. D. 220). The *I Ching*, the »Canon of Changes», the earliest of the Chinese Classics, however, treats exclusively of the significance of these diagrams, which form in fact the nucleus of the work and of which it is a philosophical exposition.

Museum<sup>1</sup>) and three of the eight ewers in the Istanbul Collection. I am myself not quite satisfied that this mark stands for *san* or for the *yang* or male-principle symbol of the *pa-kua*, and I am more impressed by the suggestion that Miss Yorke Hardy has made to me, namely, that it should be read vertically and not horizontally, and that it stands for 川 *ch'uan* or stream (Fig. 6, by courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art), thus referring to the streams of liquid which issue out of the phoenix-headed gargoyles of the fountain. *Ch'uan*, she suggests, may have been originally a draughtsman's indication in his pattern-book of what the four waving ribbon-like lines of his fountain sketch stood for. Later, its origin having been forgotten, the character came to be read horizontally, and so the *pa-kua* symbol and the sacred Buddhist numeral three (*san*) naturally developed from this simple beginning. That a confusion in regard to the nature of its religious significance continued to assail the artist-potter's mind is evidenced also, I think, by the combination of the elephant, the horse, and the hare in the design of the Foundation vase, the two former on the body of the vessel (Figs. 1 and 2), the last on its base. For it is well known that in Buddhist lore these three are the only animals to have gained admittance on their own merit to the Paradise that is their Nirvana<sup>2</sup>).

Perhaps the most enlightening of the marks on these vessels is, in my opinion, the six-character Chia-ching *nien hao*. This occurs on the Hamburg Museum ewer, on the vessel acquired by Sarre in Tehran, on the specimen shown in the 1895 Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition and on one of the series of eight ewers in the Istanbul Collection. I have ventured the opinion that this mark was perhaps the most enlightening of all of them, because I think it is indicative of the date of manufacture of all these vessels.

What means this bewildering variety of marks on so many vessels of the same type, painted with the same strange *motif* of decoration, all of them made at about the same time and place, and by the same school of potters? It is a difficult question to answer satisfactorily, and I can only proffer the suggestion that this mid-sixteenth century ceramic school of Ching-tê-chên, knowing nothing of the origin, the meaning or the purpose of the subject of their design, betrays its

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<sup>1</sup>) There are differences in various pictorial elements of their design, but these are doubtless attributable to the vagaries of the artist-potter.

<sup>2</sup>) The elephant as the bearer of the Jewelled Vase, the horse as that of the Sacred Books, and the hare for having offered itself a willing sacrifice as food for the starving Buddha. The hare, which is found more frequently than any other animal emblem as a mark on Chinese porcelain, is also sacred to the Taoists, who regard it as a denizen of the Moon, where it is believed to live to the age of a thousand years, becoming white when it has reached half its long span of life.

A similar misunderstanding of the significance of this three-stroked character is evidenced in the mark which is pencilled in black in the interior of one of a pair of porcelain models of a shell «in the shape of whelks and enamelled *sur biscuit* with a finely crackled turquoise glaze», in the collection of W. T. Walters in Baltimore, Md., U. S. A. The second of this pair of shells is «incised with a line surmounted by a dot». See Bushell, S. W., *Oriental Ceramic Art*, New York, 1899, text edition, p. 823, no. 33.

ignorance and perplexity by inscribing different marks, mostly of recondite significance, on different specimens, in the hope that one of the marks may be found to fit the case of the strange decor.

But this »queer version of a fountain» — fountains were I think unknown to the Chinese until the 18th century — baffling as it appears to have been to the ceramists themselves, should have rather more than an idle interest for us. Students of mediaeval history may not care to dismiss its subject as lightly as some of the more recent ceramic authorities have done. And students of oriental art might find in it an interest not usually met with in such a context. For it manifests an early Chinese borrowing from a foreign culture in the field of ceramic art, which in the present case is of a design, it is here suggested, derived from a quasi-historical Franco-Mongolian source.

One of the earliest travellers to have gone on a mission to the East was the Franciscan friar, William of Rubruck. Setting forth from Constantinople in May 1253, at the orders of King Louis IX of France (St. Louis, 1214—70), he reached Karakoram, the Mongol capital, on April 5, 1254. There this intrepid missionary found a small colony of Western Europeans, most of them French, in the service of the Mongol ruler Mangu Khan and of various members of his family. Friar Williams was as talented and as careful an observer as he was a devout Christian, and in his epistle to his patron he has left us an accurate and detailed as well as a colourful account of his journey<sup>1</sup>).

In Karakoram Friar William reports his meeting with a Parisian goldsmith, Guillaume Bouchier by name. Bouchier had with him his wife Paquette, a native of Metz in Lorraine, and his adopted son, »a most excellent interpreter» as he proved to be. Friar William, who had himself been brought up in France, was at once accepted as the spiritual head of the Christian community there, and he records how, soon after his arrival, the whole company gathered together »with great rejoicing» for a Palm Sunday service and dinner at the Bouchier home. The men and women in the company knew each other well, since they had been together since 1242, when they were taken prisoners in Belgrade by the victorious legions of Batu Khan in the course of their withdrawal from Central Europe to Russia and Western Asia.<sup>2</sup>)

Like the rest of the Europeans in Karakoram, Guillaume Bouchier lived there as a slave, working in the household of Arik-Buga, a brother of Mangu Khan. Master Guillaume, a native of Paris, came of a family of professional metal craftsmen, some of whom, including his own brother, continued to live and work on the Grand Pont, flanked as it was (before it collapsed in 1296) by the homes and shops of

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<sup>1</sup>) Rockhill, W. W., *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, London, 1900. See also Bushell, S. W., *op. cit.*, p. 566.

<sup>2</sup>) The withdrawal was made in order to enable Batu Khan to attend the great meeting of the khans (*kuriltai*) which was to be held at Karakoram for the election of a successor to the Great Khan, Ogudai, who had died in 1241.



money-changers and gold and silversmiths. At the north end of this bridge lay the principal meat markets of Paris, the meeting place of the Butchers' Guild, and the name of our craftsman suggests that his family may have been connected with the Paris *boucherie*, whose calling was as popular as it was powerful in Europe in the Middle Ages.

In Rubruck's account of Guillaume Bouchier's activities at Karakoram, the Parisian is revealed as a goldsmith, silversmith, ironsmith, sculptor, painter, architect and even as a carriage builder! His greatest *oeuvre*, however, was undoubtedly the «Magic Fountain». This amazing contrivance took fifty men to construct, we are told, and cost 3 000 *iascots* of silver, Master William himself receiving a hundred *iascots* as a special reward for his work. The Magic Fountain, which was «inaugurated» at the spring reception of the Mongol tribes in 1254, was in the form of «a great silver tree, and at its roots are four lions of silver, each with a conduit through it and all belching forth white milk of mares (*lac album jumentis*). And four conduits are led inside the tree to its tops, which are bent downward, and on each of these is also a gilded serpent whose tail twines round the tree. And from one of these pipes flows wine, from another *caracosmos* or clarified mare's milk, from another *bal*, a drink made with honey, and from another rice mead, which is called *terraccina*: and for each liquor there is a special silver bowl at the foot of the tree to receive it. Between these four conduits in the top, he made an angel holding a trumpet, and underneath the tree he made a vault in which a man can be hid. And pipes go up through the heart of the tree to the angel. In the first place he made bellows, but they did not give enough wind. Outside the palace is a cellar in which the liquors are stored and there are servants all ready to pour them out when they hear the angel trumpeting. And there are branches of silver on the tree and leaves and fruit. When the drink is wanted the butler cries to the angel to blow his trumpet. Then he who is concealed in the vault, hearing this, blows with all his might in the pipe leading to the angel and the angel places the trumpet to his mouth and blows the trumpet right loudly. Then the servants who are in the cellar, hearing this, pour different liquors into the proper conduits, and the conduits lead them down into the bowls prepared for that, and then, the butlers draw it and carry it to the palace to the men and women».<sup>1)</sup>

It was, apparently, not until 1735 that any attempt seems to have been made in the West to reproduce the design of this fantastic 13th century structure. In that year there was published at The Hague a recast of a work of Pierre Bérgeron of 1634, which included a French translation of Friar William's account of his *Journey*.<sup>2)</sup> This edition of Bérgeron's *Voyages* was embellished with a number of original engravings, one of which was of the Magic Fountain standing in the forecourt of the Palace, with the Mongol Emperor Mangu Khan seated on a high dais

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<sup>1)</sup> Rockhill, W. W., *op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>2)</sup> Bérgeron, Pierre: *Voyages faites principalement en Asiae*, La Haye, 1735, *Le Voyage de Guillaume de Rubriques*, cols. 95—99.

in the background (Fig. 7). How true to life this imaginative drawing may have been can only be surmised by reference to the accompanying text; for no other representation of the scene appears to exist. Some sort of sketch, or an account at least, of the Magic Fountain must assuredly have reached the Chinese before the middle of the sixteenth century. Exactly how or when I do not know and have not been able to ascertain. This account or drawing seems to have provided the inspiration of the queer Renaissance fountain design of the ewers and the vase. Between it and the design of the anonymous 18th century calcographer of Bérgeron's work there are certainly differences, as indeed there should be. Some of these differences may of course be attributable to the misunderstanding which must have resulted from mouth-to-mouth and hand-to-hand transmission of a description of this extraordinary contrivance.<sup>1)</sup> The lions of the engraving have disappeared and so has the trumpeting angel; but that winged human figure, so alien to Mongol iconography, may perhaps have existed only in the fervid religious imagination of Friar William. In place of the angel, the design on some of the ewers shows a Nestorian Cross on the summit of the structure (Fig. 6). A cross may well have found an appropriate place in such a setting, especially when we recall the passage in Rubruck's account where Master William, prior to the construction of the Fountain, is said to have made «a beautiful silver crucifix in the French style» for Bulgai, the Grand Secretary and Chancellor to the Mongol Court.<sup>2)</sup>

I have described the vase in the Foundation as of elongated *yü-hu ch'un* type. By this I mean that the neck of the vase is too long for the shape for which the Chinese commonly use the rather obscure term *yü-hu-ch'un*. The vase in the Foundation has not in fact a purely Chinese form; indeed it shows quite a close affinity to the Persian decanter. A number of these latter vessels are figured in various illustrations in a 15th century illuminated Persian manuscript, the *Jami al Tawarikh* of Rashid-al-Din. Two such decanters appear in a miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale version of this famous MS. which depicts the Enthronement of Ogudai.<sup>3)</sup> Four others are to be seen in another miniature in the same MS. representing Ogudai and his wife at a reception of Chinese ambassadors.<sup>4)</sup> A blue and white decanter, in form very like the vase I have been discussing, is figured in a miniature in the same work which shows the seated figure of Chinghiz.<sup>5)</sup> Not only are the necks of these apparently Chinese vessels too long for the *yü-hu-ch'un* form, but their mouths have generally a tendency to end straight upwards instead of expanding

<sup>1)</sup> The «gilded serpent whose tail twines round the tree» of the Rubruck account must have been some sort of a dragon, which seems to have changed into a phoenix in the Chinese version.

<sup>2)</sup> Rockhill, W. W., *op. cit.*, p. 207.

<sup>3)</sup> *Sup. pers.* 1113. See Browne, Edward G., *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, *The Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge, 1911, pl. IV.

<sup>4)</sup> See Martin, F. R., *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, London, 1912, pl. 43. There are a number of somewhat similar vessels illustrated in other miniatures in different versions of the same book.

<sup>5)</sup> See *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society for 1948-49*, London, pl. 10 b.

outward, so that like the vase here illustrated they show a form that is unmistakably un-Chinese.

Has a good case been made out for the identification of the Magic Fountain in the design of the Chinese blue and white ewers and vase? It is for the reader to judge. For my part, I am inclined to believe in the hypothesis that I have here postulated, though until a Chinese account of the Magic Fountain at Karakoram comes to light, it would be rash to dogmatise on what might have been known in China of this amazing contrivance. Because the subject is of so much obscurity, I have sub-titled this essay an exercise in illustrational interpretation.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Mr. Basil Gray, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, has communicated to me the gist of an article which he has contributed to *Ars Orientalis*, and which is soon to be published. From this I am permitted here to add the following:

On fol. 21v<sup>o</sup>. of the copy of the *Jami al Tawarikh* («The History of the World») by Rashid-al-Din in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, appears a miniature with the following legend: «The Pavilion called FRASHI was built by the order of the Oktay Qa'an (Ogudai Khan, A. H. 624—39 = A. D. 1227—41) in the city of Qaraqaram (Karakoram) in A. H. 632 (A. D. 1235) with gold and silver statues and made so that wine and qami'z (kumiss) deposited in them should run out of their mouths».

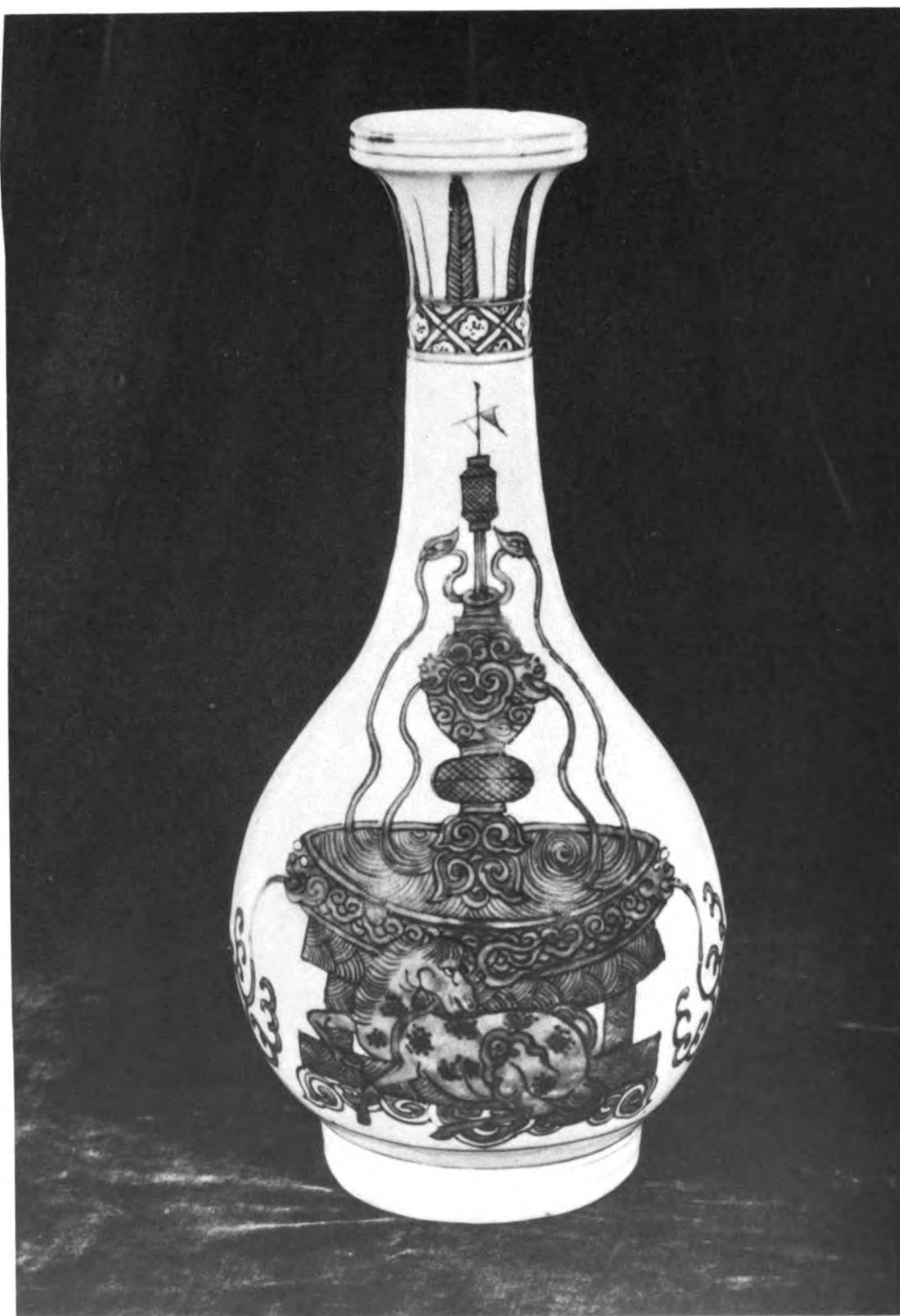
This is the famous fountain which was designed and prepared by the French captive silversmith Guillaume Bouchier for Mangu Khan, but apparently not completed until 1254. In the miniature the artist has indeed represented four animals, but they are two lions (in gold) and two elephants (in silver), while the silver tree with its fruit is reduced to a mere piece of decoration. It appears divided into two parts, one at either side of the Pavilion, which is a typical Chinese *t'ing* in outline, and stands below it, in the curious perspective affected by Persian miniaturists of that era.

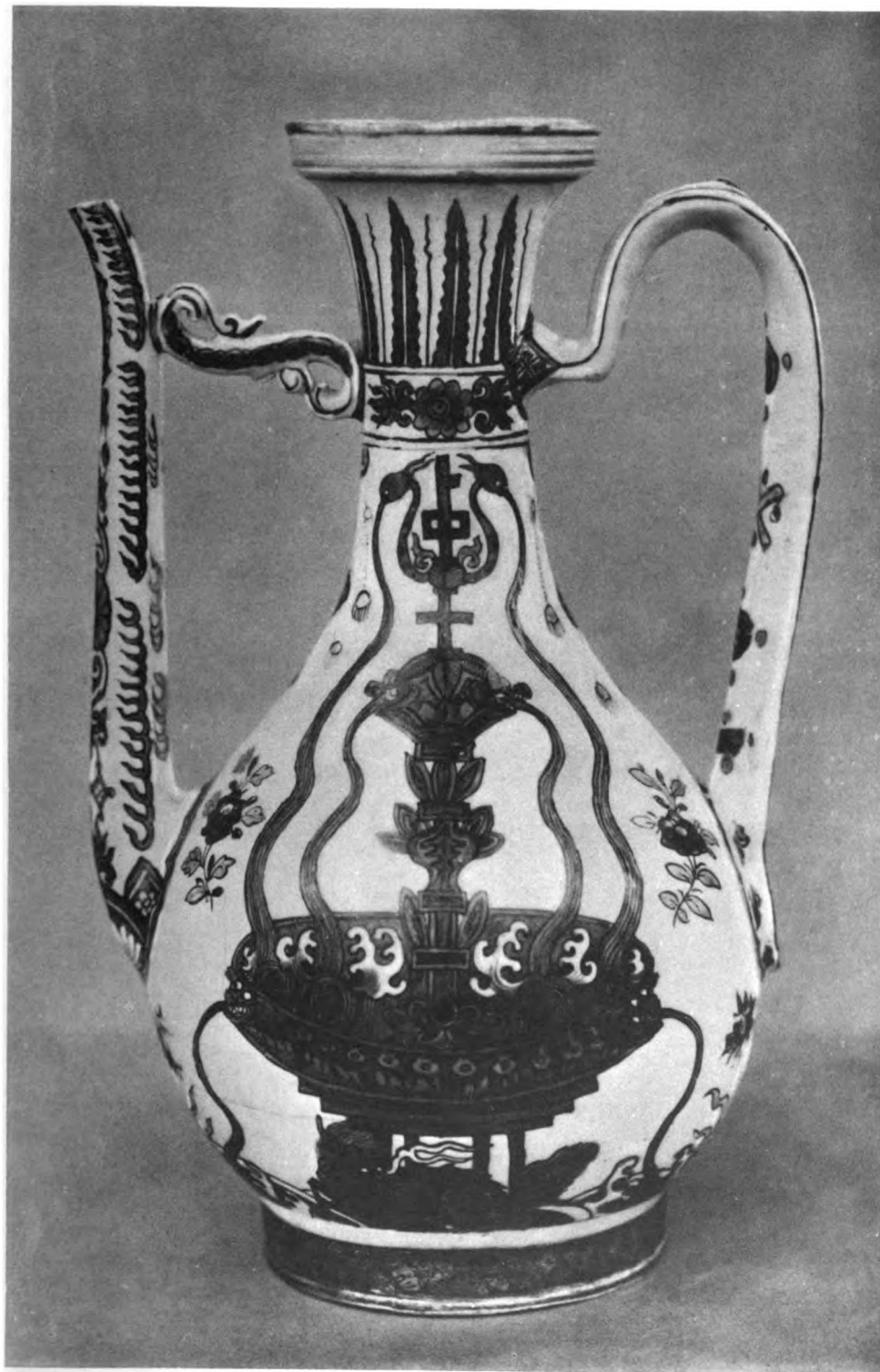
The Calcutta MS. is a work of early 15th century date, once or perhaps twice removed from the lost original, which was presented to the Il-khan Uljaytu on April 14, 1306. This may be responsible for its inaccuracies; but the basis of the account of Karakoram as related by Rashid is undoubtedly correct.

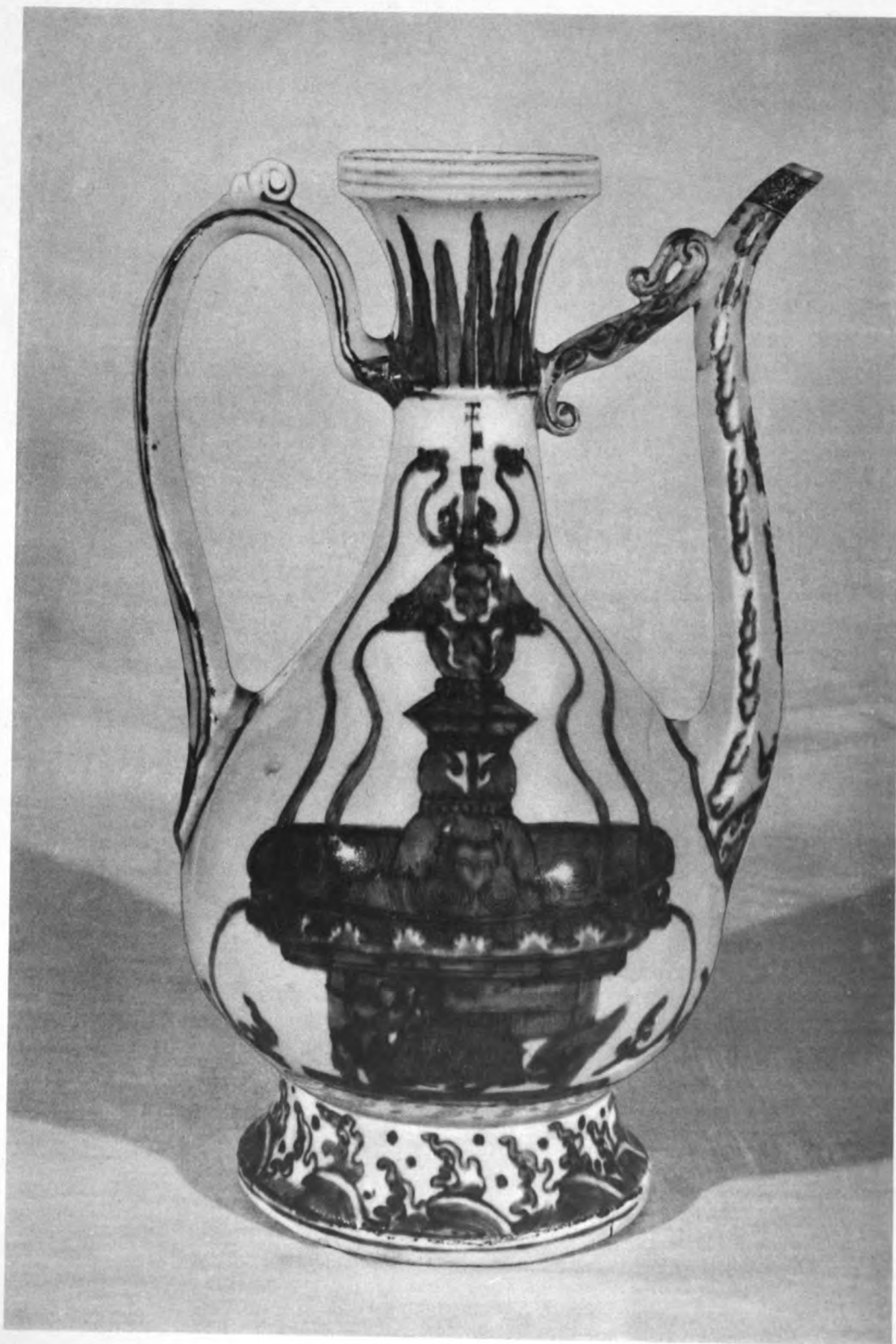




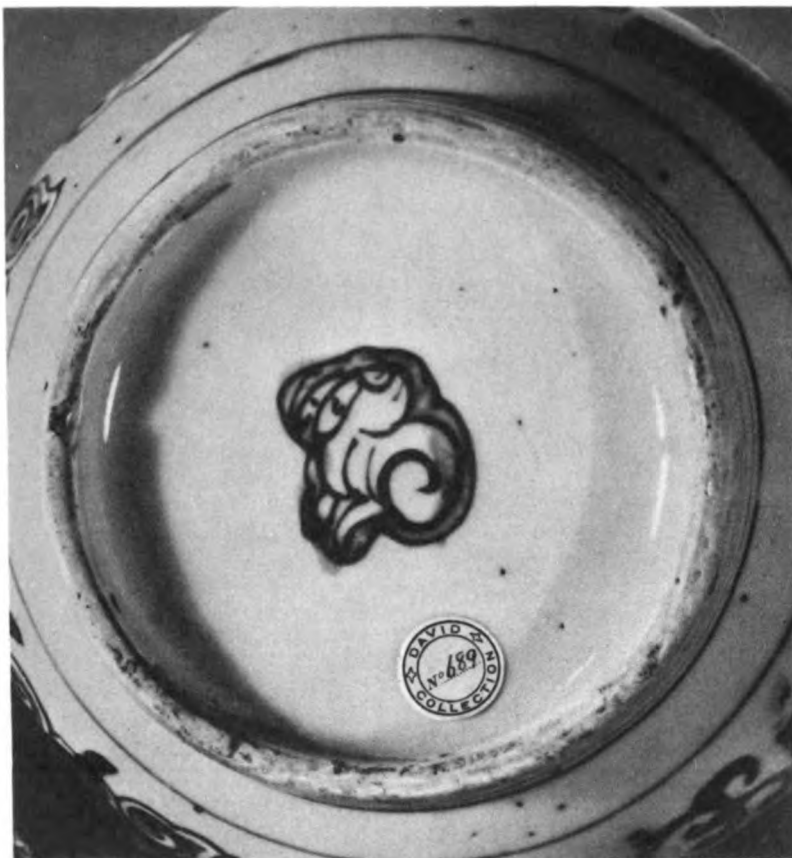




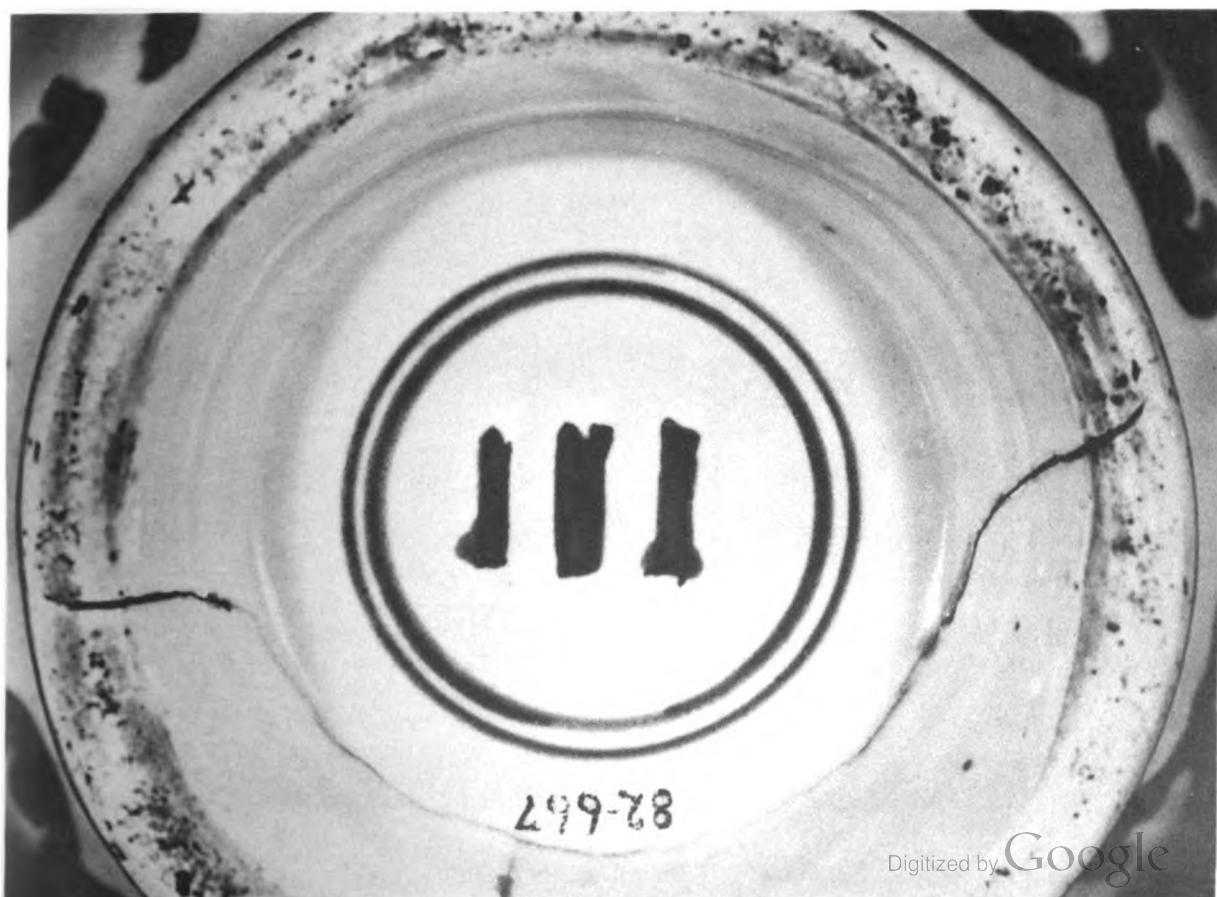




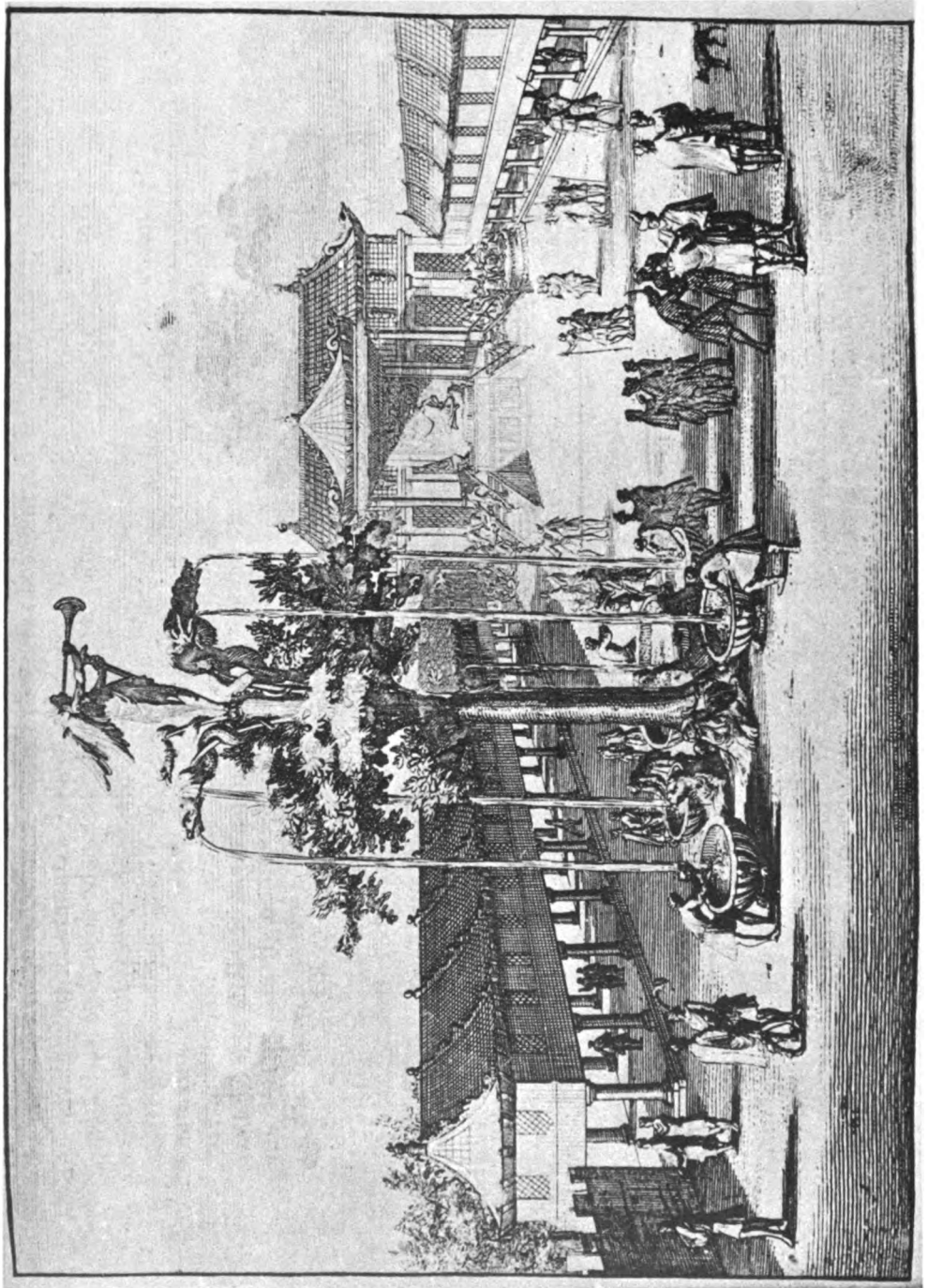




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# SOME NEW BRONZES IN THE MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

In Bulletins 20 and 21 (1948, 1949) accounts were given of the more important bronze vessels in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Since their publication the Museum has acquired a fair number of new specimens, and it has seemed advisable to give here a supplementary article describing them. As in the preceding papers, it is principally vessels that are published, but a few other bronzes (axes, a chariot fitting, a mirror etc.) have been included since they offer some special points of interest.

Pl. 1 a, b. Kuei (K. 11430). This fairly large and heavy vessel is remarkable in several respects. On the one hand, the shape is exceedingly uncommon. Jung Keng, in his big compilation *Shang Chou yi k'i* (1941), has illustrated some 150 Kuei of various types, but none of them has a shape that comes anywhere near that of our present Kuei. On the other hand, the vessel has been very positively stated to have come from Anyang, which tallies well with its patina and is confirmed by a Yin inscription (see below); and yet it has in its décor belt round the neck the «de-tailed bird» (bird with tail detached from the body), see text Fig. 1, which is well attested on vessels with early Chou inscriptions, but is extremely rare on Yin vessels (for one of the rare instances see BMFEA 20, p. 6). There are three pairs of confronting birds, and between the heads of each pair there is a hooked forehead shield, short-form for T'aot'ie. The two handles are formed as quite small and delicate animal's heads. Yin. B style. The inscription, inside the rim, is a very broad «ya-hing», probably to be read *ts'ung* «ancestral temple object» (Yin-time criterion), and inside this to the right: Fu Kuei «to father Kuei», in the middle: a standing man, and to the left: an unidentified character (possibly: *wei-144* «to guard»). Height: 15 cm., diameter 23.5 cm. Patina: grey and green.



Fig. 1.

Pl. 2 a. Tsüe (K. 11405). This vessel likewise has a most unusual feature. In the décor band round the upper part of the body there is a row of whorl circles. Now this motif, exceedingly common on Kuei vessels, and fairly frequent on Ting and several other classes of vessels, occurs as a rule on the Tsüe exclusively on top of the uprights (there it is quite common, and our present vessel has it), but never as a rule on the body. In my article *New Studies on Chinese Bronzes* (BMFEA 9, 1937) I described nearly 200 Tsüe in various collections, and none of them had the whorl circle in the décor of the body. — The legs are tall and slender and the bowl not very deep. Under the handle, which is adorned with a very simple bovine head, there is a character which is unidentified. Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Height to top of uprights: 20 cm. Patina: grey, green and red.

Pl. 2 b, c. Tsüe (K. 11434). The bowl of this cup is more elongated and deep than the preceding and the legs shorter. The décor occupies a much broader belt, and above this there is a row of rising blades. In the belt a T'aot'ie, reduced to a few summary lines but still having a fairly well-preserved face (S horns, eyebrows, eyes, ears, a drawn-up mouth-line), is flanked by vertical dragons, likewise strongly simplified. The décor, against a background of squared spirals, is in very low and discreet relief, except the strongly protruding eyes. Under the handle, provided with a bovine head, there is an undeciphered character. Yin. A style. Provenience: An-yang. Height: 19.2 cm. Patina: glossy green and splashes of red. In the grooves of the background spirals there is a red filling.

Pl. 3 a—c. Hu (K. 11450). This Hu offers several very peculiar features. Its section is not circular but rectangular with rounded corners (in this respect and in its general shape it agrees closely with a much smaller Chi cup illustrated in BMFEA 20, Pl. 12: 3). And it has a flat lid of a kind which we otherwise mostly know from Kia vessels (e. g. Chicago cat. Pl. 5). This lid is adorned with a large snake or snake-dragon whose head rises boldly in the round, whereas the body is in very low and flat relief and decorated with big scales in incised lines. In the narrow neck belt the free animal's heads (of the ordinary bovine type) form heads to snake-dragon bodies which go out in opposite directions, similarly filled with scales in incised lines, but here the dragon nature is clearly indicated by a small leg with one raised and three descending claws. The foot belt has an eyed band with diagonals (= strongly stylized and dissolved dragon figures). There are heavy incrustations over large parts of the vessel, and textile patterns in these incrustations show that the vessel has been wrapped in some fabric before being buried. In the inside bottom there is an inscription of a single character: four feet round a ring (= *wei-144* »to keep guard«). Yin or early Chou. Height: 22 cm. Patina: greyish black with green incrustations.

Pl. 4 a, b. Axe (K. 11432). This specimen agrees fairly closely with some axes illustrated and commented upon in my article »Some Weapons and Tools of the Yin Dynasty« (BMFEA 17, 1945): nos. 42, 43, 44, 49 (of these, 42 and 44 are now in the MFEA). The décor on the blade consists fundamentally of two dragons placed back to back (see text fig. 2). But beneath them there is an arched line which is a quite well-known representation of the upper lip of a T'aot'ie mouth: below it you can see a saw-tooth-like row of upper teeth, and under them two big meeting fangs. Indeed the eyes and horns of the dragons combine to form, together with this lower mouth configuration, a broad and somewhat weird T'aot'ie face. In order to emphasize this, the horns, the eyes and the arch of the mouth rise in very high relief, contrasting with the rest of the

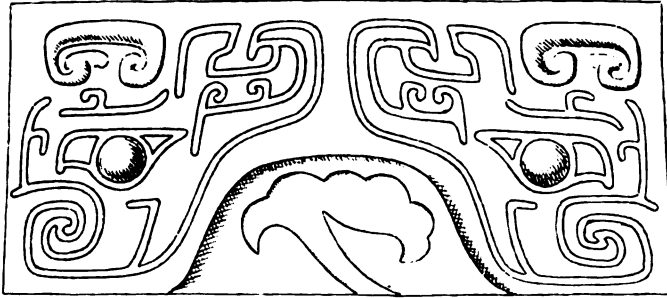


Fig. 2.

dragon figures. These latter are formed of incised grooves, which have had some filling, now red in colour. The tang, on the contrary, has the lines of the T'aot'ie heads formed by the bronze surface proper, the background being cut down into a slightly lower plane and then provided with a filling similar to that on the blade. The most remarkable feature of this axe is, however, one of the T'aot'ie on the tang. The one is quite regular, with the ordinary lozenge on the forehead. But the nose and the forehead of the other are drawn in a most peculiar and unusual way, having a circle instead of a lozenge as central figure. — On the tang, nearest to the base of the blade, there are remnants of the wood of the handle. Yin. A style. Provenience: An-yang. Length: 21 cm. Patina: a smooth greyish-green with patches of green and blue incrustations.

Pl. 5 a, b. Axe (K. 11431). This axe is remarkable for its enormous size. It is by far the largest I have ever seen. The cutting edge is also unusually straight, for the rest it agrees fairly well with the axe-types 38 and following in my article on weapons cited above. On one side of the blade it has a »whorl circle» in incised lines. The tang has on the one side an ordinary T'aot'ie in low relief, on the other an incised inscription, showing an axe which decapitates a human figure, and the characters fu Yi »to father Yi». Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length: 34.3 cm. Breadth at the edge: 27 cm. Weight: 5 kilograms. Patina: green and reddish brown.

Pl. 6 a—c. Fittings (for chariot, sedan chair, house furniture?) (K. 11425). The construction is best seen in the photograph of the turned-over specimen. Exactly below the square hole (13 mm<sup>2</sup>) in the top surface (just behind the horns) there is a similar hole in the bottom surface, and a stout peg has evidently passed through these two holes. The front is adorned with a bovine head in low relief, the horns being covered with scales. Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Length: 21–21.5 cm. Breadth and height: 7.5 cm. Patina: green.

Pl. 7 a, b. Ih (usually called »Kuang», a misnomer, as I have argued elsewhere) (K. 11435). The lid is missing. There is no décor on the body. A finely modelled bovine head with scaled horns is on top of the handle. The hook at the lower end of the latter is a rudiment of a bird's tail: the earlier and more complete type of handle which is the origin of this configuration may be seen e. g. in the large Kuei class, e. g. Seikwa 105 or Chicago 20, or Wuying 67, in which the big bend of the handle is shaped like a bird's body, with the lobe below showing both the feet and the tail of the bird. — Inside, in the bottom, there are two characters: *mu* X (»to Mother X»), the second undecipherable. Yin or Early Chou. Height: 15.3 cm. Patina: glossy black.

Pl. 8. Tsun (K. 11449). This specimen belongs to the broad and somewhat squat class of Tsun. It has an unusual feature in its two décor bands on the bulb. Each of these bands shows two antithetically placed de-tailed birds separated by small flanges which form central lines in rudimentary T'aot'ie figures (the hooked forehead shields only). This décor is executed with great precision and finesse. In the inside bottom there is a short inscription in small characters: »X (a name; character undeciphered) *tso ts'ung yi*» has made the accompanying vessel». The ductus of the script indicates Chou rather than Yin. Chou, B style. Height: 18 cm. Patina: grey, green and brown in exquisite flamy patterns.

Pl. 9. Ting (K. 11401). This vessel is striking on account of its size and weight, while at the same time its décor is very fine in detail. The belly is bare, and the décor limited to a not very broad neck belt. This contains dragonized T'aot'ie, flanked by vertical dragons, all in low but slightly rounded relief. The former have been stylistically studied and placed in their relation to kindred dragon types on other vessels in BMFEA 23 (p. 19, Fig. 343). The mask T'aot'ie on the upper part of the legs show the same strong fangs as those in the neck belt. The flanges are limited to these two zones, leaving the whole belly bare. Provenience: Shensi province. A style. Probably early Chou. Height to top of handles: 40.5 cm. Diameter 33 cm. Weight 15 kilograms. Patina: green and glossy light-brown.

Pl. 10 a. Sacrificial spoon (K. 11407). This object has its special interest in the fact that we know its provenience: Lo-yang, and hence have good reason to believe it to be an Early Chou specimen. The pointedly elliptical bowl is very shallow indeed (depth about 5 mm.). The two dragons (one of them head-turning) on the handle balance each other most gracefully. Length 26.5 cm. Patina: dull green.

Pl. 10 b. Wheel-axle cap (K. 11406). For the same reason we have included this specimen: it has likewise been excavated in the Lo-yang region and is in all likelihood of Early Chou date. Its décor consists of four blades at the base of which there are four bovine heads. The front surface has concentric circles in three different planes. Length: 20 cm. Patina: glossy greyish green water-patina.

Pl. 11 a, b. Ting (K. 11422). We have here clearly a Middle Chou vessel — the »shallow Ting» bowl, the »scale band», the »curving legs» — and yet it possesses peculiar features of its own. The handles are comparatively large and bend outwards strongly, whereas the legs are very slender, have a slight curvature and are placed remarkably close together. The scales are long-drawn-out, and in three places the row is interrupted by the figure shown in Pl. 11 b. The handles are adorned on the outside with rows of incised bands filled with dots. These various peculiarities are no doubt due to the fact that the vessel has a southern provincial origin: the provenience is Ch'ang-sha. Height to top of handles: 25.5 cm. Weight: 3.8 kilograms. Patina: a smooth light green.

Pl. 12 a—c. Bell (K. 11408). This specimen has a pointed-oval section, and the rims are strongly arched. It is remarkable in several respects. On the one hand, it is exceedingly thick and heavy, and, on the other hand, it has a most unusual pattern in its incised décor (see rubbings in Pl. 12 b, c.). The lower part has a series of figures, possibly corruptions of dragon figures, which stretch across the lines that divide the field into large lozenges. The central upper section has circular fields filled with a kind of crosses, and provided with border bands which contain strongly stylized scales (cf. our Post-script). The side fields, with whorl bosses, have as a simple filling the motif »interlocked T's» of the Yin style, out of fashion in the Middle Chou style, but now revived in Huai.

On the top surface of the bell there is a simple filling of squared spirals. Huai style period. Provenience: Lo-yang. Height: 32.5 cm. Weight: 10.6 kilograms. Patina: light green with patches of red and blue.

Pl. 13 a, b. Ting (K. 11436). This vessel is oval, an unusual feature, and has very tall and slender legs, with summarily formed animal's heads at the shoulders: little more is elaborated than strongly protruding eyes and a broad rolled-up nose. There is an even more remarkable feature in the formation of the handles. Usually a Ting has handles rising upwards from the rim, but in the Huai style we know of a few instances in which the handles are small stout rings placed vertically on the side of the vessel (a common arrangement on Huai style Tsei vessels, e. g. Seikwa Pls. 165, 189). There is, for instance, the Ting in Seikwa, Pl. 103 (Museum, Köln), which, though round and not oval, resembles our vessel here to a large extent: the same slender legs, with very similar heads, and plastically formed birds on the lid (only one remaining on the Köln vessel). Another example is a Ting (Hakkaku 24), which, though very broad and squat and having short bulbous legs, has similar ring-shaped vertically placed handles. But the former has no animal at all on the ring, and the latter has an animal's head placed in just the ordinary way, well known from hundreds of vertical handles on Kuei vessels, i. e. with the top of the head upwards and the mouth downwards, the bow of the handle emerging like a drawn-out tongue, as it were, from the mouth. On our present vessel, on the contrary, the animal's heads are inverted, the horns pointing downwards and the mouth upwards. It often occurs on P'an and Ih vessels, both in the Middle Chou style and in the Huai style, that the animal on the handle has the head turned upwards, but then it usually rises above the rim of the vessel and bites over the rim (e. g. Wuying 85, Seikwa 154, BMFEA 21, Pl. 20 etc.). On our present Ting this is not the case, the inverted head is simply an ornament on the upper part of the handle ring. — The décor on the body consists of three narrow bands, the central one having the comma pattern, the other two having squared spirals, alternating with lozenges, an unusual pattern. On the lid there are likewise three narrow bands, the central one with comma pattern, the outer ones with volutes and triangles. Height: 14.7 cm. Patina: varying shades of green.

Pl. 14 a. Mirror (K. 11387). This large mirror is interesting both because of its provenience — we know that it has been excavated in Ch'ang-sha — and because of its very unusual décor. Against a background with the comma pattern (large, striped commas) there are four birds (Fig. 3) with slantingly striped wings and tails and some highly curious circles, one marking the centre of the body, the other two placed where the wing and the tail begin to curve upwards. Huai style period, probably 4th–3rd c. B. C. (cf. BMFEA 13, Pls. 11 and following). Diameter: 21 cm. Patina: glossy black with brown patches.

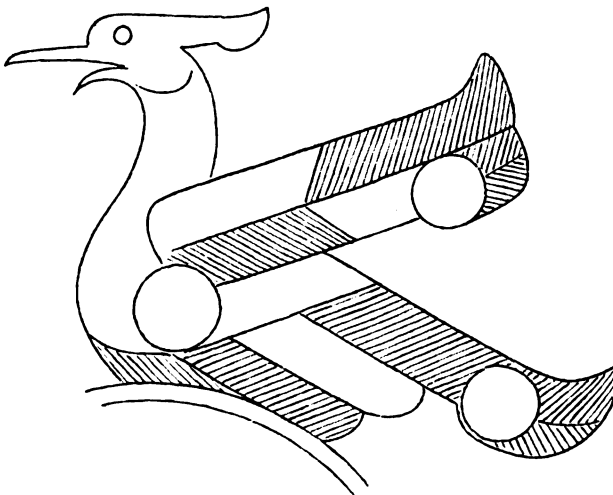


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

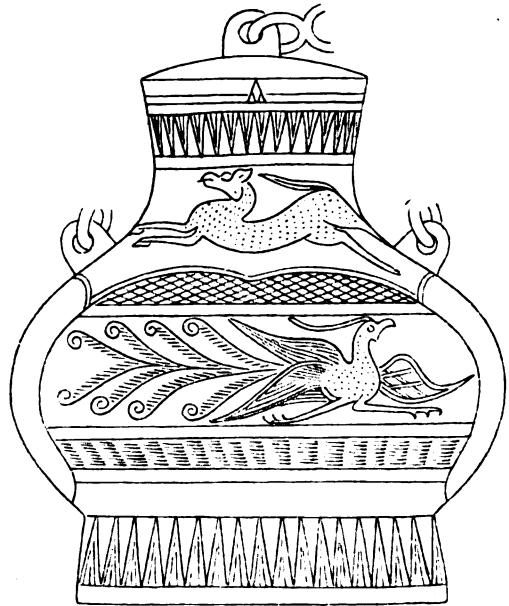


Fig. 5.

Pl. 14 b. Flask (K. 11433). This small vessel, which may have served as a toilet article, has the shape of a broad Hu («Pien Hu»), and is in type exactly like a flask in the Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago cat. Pl. 83), though this latter is much larger (height: 22.5 cm.). The Chicago specimen lacks the lid and the chains; our vessel here gives a good idea of the arrangement: a half-circular bow has a barely suggested dragon's head at each end, and each dragon bites over a ring, which forms the first link in a chain connecting with the likewise ring-shaped handle on the shoulder of the vessel. A short secondary chain fastens the lid to one of the principal chains. All the décor is executed in incised lines, and the figures are formed with great skill and precision. On the foot and the collar there are sharp-pointed triangles. Horizontal belts are delimited by bands of compound lozenges and short parallel streaks. On the neck and also on the lid there are running animals (Fig. 4) with the bodies dotted to denote fur. In the principal surface there is a large beautifully drawn peacock (Fig. 5). Some of these décor features on our Hu make it closely akin not only to the above-mentioned larger Hu in Chicago, but also to two tube-shaped containers of Han time in our museum, described with drawings in BMFEA 20, p. 24, and, further, with a Hu and a lamp in the museum, both illustrated and described in BMFEA 21, p. 20, and several more items in other collections cited therein. In fact, we have here a whole group of stylistically closely cognate objects; but they hail from widely different regions. One of them (the lid of a toilet box) was excavated in Lo-lang, Korea. The Hu in BMFEA 21 came from Ch'ang-sha in Hunan. Our present flask was found at Lo-yang in Honan. Han period. Height (to top of ring on lid): 9.5 cm. Breadth: 8.8 cm. Patina: flame green.



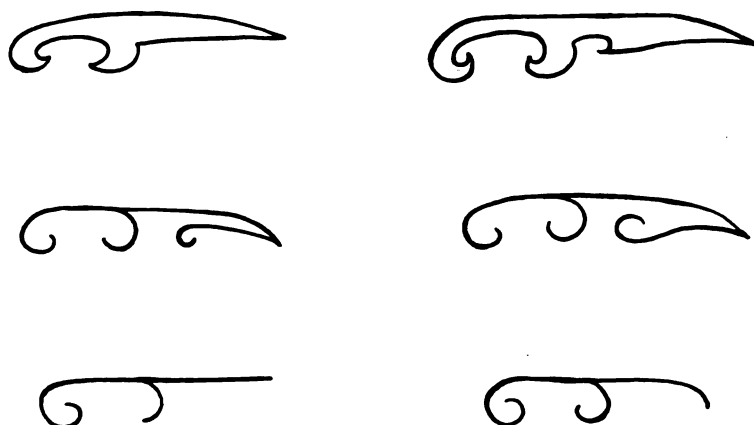


Fig. 6.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

In an article: Notes on the Grammar of Early Bronze Décor (BMFEA 23, 1951) I showed that a series of conventional figures are extremely common in the bronze décor, either as independent elements forming part of the principal décor scheme or as border bands on animals in the latter, or, finally, as incised lines filling surfaces on animals in the principal décor. These conventional figures, veritable clichés, would seem to be meaningless in themselves and have the character of playful embellishments: mere lines, hooks, volutes; but they are, in fact, fraught with meaning, since, as I showed in detail, they are derived from the lower part of dragon figures and hence stand as abbreviations of »dragon». Thus, for instance, the cliché in our Fig. 6 here, which I have called the »C-hooked quill», is a short-form for dragons of the types in our Fig. 7.

When we find our Fig. 8 (no. 656 in the said article) as forehead shield of a T'aot'ie, which is flanked by vertical dragons, and this shield consists of two »C-hooked quills» (i. e. dragons) back to back (at the same time suggesting the shape of a cicada — a typical convergence of different themes in one bronze-décor figure); and when, moreover, this shield has »C-hooked quills» (i. e. dragons) incised in four places, there is a superfetation of the dragon motif so strong as to indicate, quite definitely, a real meaning: that of cumulative magic dragon power.<sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> There are many examples of such cumulation: it is quite common that a T'aot'ie or T'aot'ie dragon has its horns shaped as dragons; in our Fig. 25 below the dragon's front-foot has been given the shape of a smaller dragon. On a famous Kuei in the Freer Gallery (Freer Pl. 28) the handle has a small bovine head and just above this another big bovine head and, again, between the horns of the latter, still another small bovine head. It is obvious that this is not a meaningless repetition but has a definite strengthening purpose.

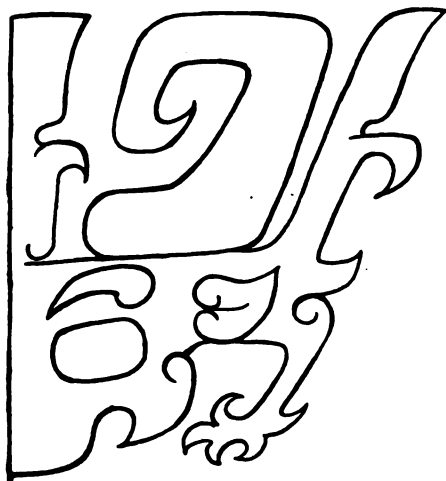
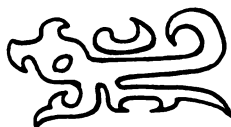


Fig. 7.

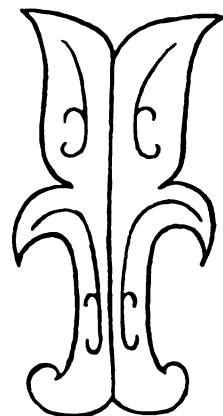


Fig. 8.

Besides the «C-hooked quill» there is quite a large series of other clichés which serve as short-forms for «dragon». These have all been studied in detail in the said article and need not be further discussed here.

There are, however, certain other elements which have a similar function, and, as a supplement to the aforesaid paper, two of them will be discussed here, which is all the more called-for since they both appear on our bronzes described above.

## A.

The scale is an extremely important element in the early bronze décor, and, as we know, one of the fundamental features in Middle Chou art. In the latter we find it both as «scale band», with the scales ranged in horizontal rows (e. g. our Ting Pl. 11 above) and as «vertical scales» i. e. rows of hanging scales (see BMFEA 8). It is a matter of considerable interest to investigate the scale representations in Yin and Early Chou art, from which this motif has been taken over and promoted into one of the leading themes in Middle Chou art.

On the early bronzes we find the scale in several formulations.

The prototype is a simple shape as in Fig. 9 a, and this may sometimes be adorned with a crossing stroke inside, 9 b. Then two such simple scales may be placed abreast with a space between, Fig. 9 c. Again, they may be placed close

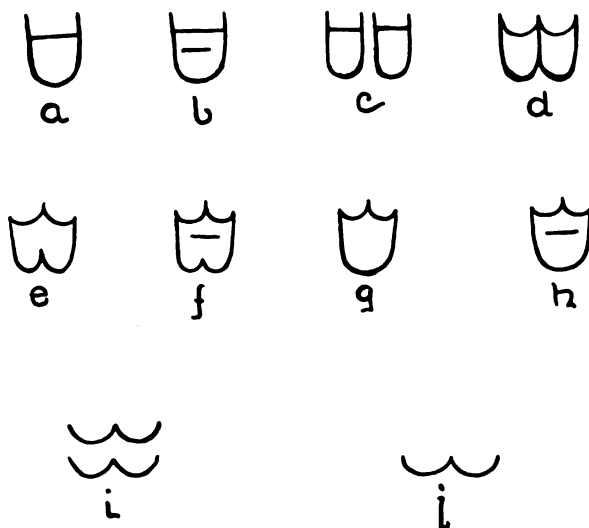


Fig. 9.

together, Fig. 9 d. From this latter configuration it is but a small step to the twin scales' having grown together as in Fig. 9 e, sometimes with a crossing horizontal stroke, Fig. 9 f. And then the lower indentation may be lost, and we have arrived at a shape, Fig. 9 g, which is closely similar to the prototype 9 a but which has a protruding point in the middle of the top line, recalling the fact that actually two scales have coalesced. Furthermore this variant may have the horizontal inner stroke, Fig. 9 h. Finally, from types 9 d and 9 e it is but a short step to the variant 9 i in which the side lines of the scale have been lost; and as a final, very strong simplification we have the shape in Fig. 9 j: two connected bows, like the letter  $\epsilon$ .

Fig. 10 (= Visser, *Asiatic Art* Pl. 56, an archaic jade,)<sup>1)</sup> shows a very naturalistic rendering of a fish's scales (type 9 d). Fig. 11 (= Yechung III, hia 10, on a P'an from An-yang) represents them more summarily (type 9 i). The fish, however, is very unusual in the décor of Yin bronzes (almost exclusively on P'an vessels), and it has its most prominent role in the representation of snakes, snake-like dragons and other dragons. Fig. 12 (detail from a Ting formerly belonging to C. T. Loo; photo) shows the snake with the body entirely covered with scales of type 9 a. In Fig. 13 (= Freer, Pl. 21, detail from a famous Early-Chou Yi) and in Fig. 14 (= Waterbury Pl. 54, Moore collection) we have it with scale bands of type 9 a, and in Fig. 15 (detail from a Yu in the Freer Gallery, photo), the band between the scale rows is broader than in the preceding. In Fig. 16 (= Wuying 42, foot belt of a Kuei), the scales are not connected but sparsely scattered over

<sup>1)</sup> Our figures 10—89 are placed in Plates 15—30 below.

the body. Fig. 17 (= Ecke VII, detail of square Ting) shows scales of type 9 g, and so does Fig. 18 (= Trübner, Yu and Kuang; Meyer collection), as far as half the snake body is concerned. An elaborately embellished instance is our Pl. 3 c. Again, Fig. 19 (= Si Ts'ing yi k'i shī yi, Pl. 3, detail of square Ting), and Fig. 20 b (= Yechung I, shang 9, detail of Ting) present scales of type 9 h. Finally, the very forceful vessel in Fig. 20 a (Li in the MFEA, see BMFEA 20, Pl. 4) has some very primitive snakes with scales of type 9 i.

Various kinds of dragons appear with scales of several types. Fig. 21 (= Freer Pl. 18, detail of a Tsun) shows the dragon body wholly covered with simple scales of type 9 a. In Fig. 22 (detail from an axe in the MFEA, K.-14131) there is a single 9 a scale on the neck of the dragon. In Fig. 23 (detail of a Yi in the Wessén coll., Stockholm), the scale band (type 9 a) forms merely a border on the back of the dragon. Fig. 24 shows a detail from an An-yang axe in the MFEA (K. 11328) in which every other scale is of type 9 b those in between being filled with a spiral line (cf. our Pl. 3 c). Fig. 25 (= Waterbury 44, in Nelson Gallery of Art) has scales of type 9 e. In Fig. 26 (= Yechung III, hia 7, from an An-yang P'an) and in Fig. 27 (= Tsun I: 43, from a square Yi) we find scales of type 9 g. Fig. 28 (= Visser, Pl. 36, ladle in Stoclet coll.), Fig. 29 (= Waterbury Pl. 32, Winthrop coll.), Fig. 30 (= Ecke 8) and Fig. 31 (= Seikwa 93, Menten coll.) show dragons with scales of type 9 h. Fig. 32 (carved bone from An-yang, Weill coll.) is of type 9 f. Finally, Fig. 33 (carved bone from An-yang, MFEA, K. 11000: 71) has scales of alternating types 9 a and 9 j.

The scales thus pertain quite particularly to snakes and dragons, but from them they have been carried over to figure in the representation of various other animals, on which they are a most surprising feature. Scales are very common as a covering for the whole body or large parts of the body of certain birds, particularly owls, e. g. Fig. 34 (= Waterbury Pl. 56, Cutting coll.), and Fig. 35 (= Waterbury Pl. 62 = Freer Pl. 11). In both these examples the scales are of type 9 a, in the second case both on the wings of the owl and on the body of the small birds, as well as on the eyes of all the birds (cf. also our Fig. 18 above, with its typical scaled eye of the bird). In Fig. 36 (= Freer Pl. 5, detail of a so-called Kuang) the bird's body is covered with scales of type 9 e. On the other hand, elephants may likewise have scales all over the body, e. g. Seikwa Pl. 35 (later in the Oeder coll.), with scales of type 9 a. Again, there is the famous vessel formed of two rams back to back (Eumorfopoulos I, Pl. 8), covered in part with scales 9 a and in part with scales 9 e. They are all too well-known to need reproduction here.

But an even more curious and significant fact is that the scales crop up as a décor element on isolated bodily parts of various animals.

We find them on the trunk of elephants as well as of trunked dragons. Fig. 37 (detail of a Ku) has them in their simple 9 a form, whereas Fig. 38 (= Freer Pl. 24) has type 9 e. Our dragons Fig. 39 (= Freer Pl. 16, detail of a Yu) and Fig.

40 (= Yechung III, shang 13, square Ting) show type 9 a, but Fig. 41 (= Ch'i an ts'ang kin Pl. 15, detail of a Hu) is of type 9 e.

The scales are, furthermore, a common feature on the horns of various animals, and particularly of T'aot'ie heads. Fig. 42 (= Wuying 4, leg of a square Ting), Fig. 43 (detail of a Ting, C. T. Loo, photo) and Fig. 44 (detail of a Ku from An-yang, photo) all have type 9 a. Fig. 45 (= Umehara, Kanan Anyō ihō 34), Fig. 46 (detail of a Kuei, photo), Fig. 18 above, and our own fittings in Pl. 6 are all of type 9 e. Fig. 47 (= Eumo. I, Pl. XVI) shows the big scaled horns of a bird.

If we go back to our Fig. 14, we find a double collar of scales round the neck of the owl, the upper one consisting of small scales of type 9 a, the lower of big scales of type 9 g. It is even more common, however, to place single scales or merely a few scales on the neck of birds and sometimes of other animals as well. Fig. 48 (detail of a Chi, Lundgren coll.) has scales of type 9 b. Fig. 49 (= Seikwa 75) a dragon-bird, has a row of scales of type 9 g. Fig. 50 has a similar row of scales of type 9 h. Fig. 51 (= BMFEA 21, Pl. 18, an early Chou lid) has a single 9 h. Fig. 52 (detail of a Ting, Oeder coll.) shows a neck scale of type 9 j, and so does Fig. 53 (= Yechung II, hia 27, carved bone from An-yang). In these latter cases one would hardly suspect that the  $\epsilon$ -shaped figures on the neck represent scales; it is only revealed by the parallelism with the preceding instances.

Another very eccentric placing, which is quite common, is on the side of the face (cheek or beside the ear or the eyebrow) of T'aot'ie and other animal's heads. Fig. 54 (= Senoku Pl. 72, detail of a Yu), has a scale of type 9 a. Fig. 55 (= Freer Pl. 19, detail of a Kuei), type 9 f. Fig. 56 (detail of a Ting, Churchill coll.) has type 9 g. Fig. 57 (detail of a Ting, photo) has type 9 h. Fig. 58 (wheel-axle pin in MFEA, K. 11000: 494) has type 9 j — here again one would not interpret the  $\epsilon$  as a scale without the support of the preceding parallels. Finally, in Fig. 59, there is the human head on the socket of an axe (= Sirén, History of Early Chinese Art I, pl. 58), which is exceedingly curious: on the cheek a scale of type 9 g and inside this again a scale of type 9 j.

The nose of a T'aot'ie is often adorned with the scale element. Fig. 60 (= Seikwa 36, detail of an elephant, Louvre) shows the whole length of the T'aot'ie's nose covered with scales of type 9 e. Fig. 61 (= Eumorfopoulos I, Pl. 61) has a single scale of the same type. Fig. 62 (MFEA, K. 12364) is similar but has type 9 h. Again, Fig. 63 resembles the preceding, but has type 9 i. Fig. 64 (= Freer Pl. 6) has type 9 j (and moreover a row of 9 j on the upper lip). The mask in Fig. 65 (= Jörg Trübner zum Gedächtnis, Pl. 21) has alternating types 9 e and 9 j. We find a unique placing in Fig. 66 (= Senoku 182), the scales flanking the nose.

Isolated cases of even more eccentric placings can be found for instance in Fig. 67 (= Freer Pl. 13), where a foot, just behind the claws, has one scale of type 9 g and one of 9 j; and inside the ears of the monster in Senoku 68. Further, an interesting case of convergence is the formation of the cicada figure (e. g. on Fig.

43): here the segments of the insect's body are depicted by double arches of exactly the same type as the scales of type 9 i-j.

Finally, a row of scales such as we have, for instance, in our Fig. 21, has been detached, as it were, from its significant role as an element of an animal's figure and placed as a simple border band, e. g. Fig. 68 (= Yechung I, shang 27, detail of a Tsüe), Fig. 69 (= Si Ts'ing yi k'i shi yi 16, detail of a Hu), Fig. 70 (= Seikwa 15, detail of a Tsun), Fig. 71 (= Yenku, shang 25, leg of a Kue). For another good example see Chicago cat. Pl. 7. This is, on the whole, quite rare in Yin and Early Chou, but it has been seized upon by the artists of the Middle Chou style and given rise to the «scale band», one of the dominant décor features of that style.

We have witnessed how, from its role on the bodies of fishes, snakes and dragons, the scale has been carried over to various other animals on which it has no real natural *raison d'être*: birds (particularly owls) having scales instead of feathers or at least single scales on the neck, elephants having scales all over the body or at least on the trunk, T'aot'ie heads (both of the ram's type, the bovine type or the more ordinary types with C horns or bottle horns etc.) having them on their horns, on the cheeks, on the nose. In all these «unnatural» cases it is obvious that the introduction of the scale in the picture is no mere artistic freak but has a deeper, symbolic and magical meaning. Just as I showed in the article «Notes on the Grammar of Early Bronze Décor» (BMFEA 23, 1951), that the addition to various animal representations of clichés like the «C-hooked quill» etc. (either as incised fillings or as border bands or as independent figures disposed around the major animals) had the purpose of serving as abbreviations for «dragon» and thus strengthening the magical «dragon» force of the whole, so we must conclude that the scale here has a similar magical purpose. As already stated, the scaly fish is rare in Yin décor, except on P'an trays, but the scaly snake is very common and important indeed. Now the snake has evidently had some magical meaning even in pre-historic China; thus the human head from the Pan-shan necropolis (Kansu) with a snake coiling down from the crown of the head to the nape of the neck, Yang-shao period, illustrated in BMFEA 15, Pl. 187, certainly has some religious meaning. Miss F. Waterbury has diligently collected all the Chou-time lore available about the snake and its significance (Waterbury p. 73 and foll.). The earliest text is an ode in Shi king, which says that dreams of bears are intimations of sons, whereas dreams of snakes are intimations of daughters.<sup>1)</sup> The precise magical purport of the snake in Yin time is difficult to ascertain, but the early bronze décor shows it to have been very powerful. And further: between the scaly snake and the scaly dragon there is no strict dividing line in the bronze representations — in many cases it is doubtful whether we should call the specimen a snake or a dragon.

<sup>1)</sup> It is very curious that in the Yin décor, which is an animal style in the extreme, no motifs whatever from the vegetable kingdom appearing in it, and which operates with a long series of animals, the bear is entirely missing. This should, perhaps, be a warning not to draw too rash conclusions from Chou texts about the cults and beliefs of Yin time — there may have been considerable differences.

Our conclusion must now be that, just as the clichés »C-hooked quill» etc. are short-forms for »dragon», and as such by an accumulation of »dragon» elements enhance the magical dragon power of the vessel, so the scales which crop up on birds' necks, on elephants' trunks, on T'aot'ies' noses or cheeks stand as abbreviations for »snake» or »snake-dragon» and thus add to the magical force of the principal animal represented.

Finally, as so often in the Chinese bronze décor, we may observe here a convergence of great interest. There is a close connection between the scale and the cowrie shell.<sup>1)</sup> The magical character of the cowrie has been attested in the lore of various Asiatic peoples, and it already forms part of the decoration of the Pan-shan grave urns (Yang-shao era in Kansu).<sup>2)</sup> Now there are several very early bronze inscriptions which show us a man who carries two strings of cowries: Fig. 72 (a = Tsun 1: 44, b = Kün 1/2: 5, c = Kün 1/2: 22), and it is easily seen that the shells here are drawn so as to coincide with some of the scale types studied in detail above. The cowrie is admittedly a female symbol, the snake is (in a dream) an intimation of daughters to be born, and the cowrie shell is sometimes drawn like the scale of the snake: the circle is closed.

We may now proceed one step further. There is an interesting parallel to the scale, carried over from the snake and the dragon to other animals and applied to their figures so as to endow them with the magical force of »snake» and »dragon», in another highly important element in the early bronze décor: the lozenge. The surface-covering pattern »compound lozenges» as in Fig. 73 (= Ecke 3, detail of a Ting) is frequent and well-known. But apart from that, the lozenge serves several purposes, and one of them is to cover the body of snakes and dragons. It is thus to some extent synonymous and interchangeable with the scale. A great many good examples are known; it will be sufficient to cite a few. Fig. 74 (= Shanchai 43, detail of a square Ting) and Fig. 75 (detail of another square Ting in Musée Cernuschi) show the double-snake with lozenges, slightly varied in the execution. Fig. 76 (detail of the lid of a Küe in the MFEA, see Bull. 20, Pl. 7) shows the snake from above. Fig. 77 (= BMFEA 23, Pl. 8, axe in the coll. of H. M. the King of Sweden) has the dragon, likewise seen from above. In Fig. 78 (= Shuang kien yi ku k'i wu t'u lu, shang 29, detail of a Yu) the dragon's body forms the bow handle of the vessel. Fig. 79 shows fragments of white An-yang pottery (MFEA, K. 12297), and Fig. 80 carved bone likewise from An-yang (MFEA, K. 14961); this latter has a gaping dragon with bottle horn and lozenges along the central line of the body. Fig. 81 (= Yechung III, hia 5) has a very common type of dragon with this same lozenge pattern. Fig. 81 a (= Yechung 2 hia 45, carved bone) is interesting in that between the dragon's head and the row of lozenges on its back there is a big scale.

<sup>1)</sup> This was already pointed out by me in BMFEA 2, 1930, p. 41.

<sup>2)</sup> For a fuller documentation see the article quoted in note 1.

The interesting phenomenon here is now this: just as we witnessed how the scale of snakes and dragons was carried over and served in other applications, always with the purpose of giving an additional magical «dragon» force, so the lozenge, pertaining to snakes and dragons and practically synonymous with the scale in function and meaning, has been detached and placed in other positions. The most important of them all is the lozenge in the centre of the forehead of T'aot'ie and other more or less T'aot'ie-like animal's heads, bovine heads, ram's heads etc., not only in the surface décor but also when they are placed as «free animal's heads», plastically protruding from the surface.

In this position the lozenge is nearly ubiquitous. See, for instance, our Figs. 39, 57, 63, 64. But it is by no means limited to these heads. We find it likewise on dragons (e. g. Fig. 77) snakes (e. g. Figs. 14, 20 b), owls (e. g. Freer, Pl. 6) cicadas (e. g. Fig. 82 = Waterbury Pl. 1) even tortoises (Fig. 83 = Waterbury Pl. 53). Briefly, the lozenge, as forehead piece on various magical animals in the bronze décor, has an exceedingly important part to play. We might hesitate to decide whether it is allowable to identify the lozenge on snakes and dragons, which is generally so shaped as to have either a central dot (as in Fig. 74) or at least double lines (Fig. 75), the inner lozenges thus becoming smaller than the outer, with the forehead lozenge, which mostly consist of only one line representing the lozenge shape and no inner filling at all. But it should be observed that there are also a good many examples of forehead lozenges drawn with double lines, e. g. Fig. 84 (An-yang marble Ting in the MFEA, see BMFEA 7, Karlbek Pl. 4). On the other hand, the forehead lozenge is often plastically raised to a higher point in the middle (e. g. our Fig. 61), the central point thus corresponding to the central dot in the flat execution on snakes like Fig. 74. It seems reasonable to conclude that, just as the «C-hooked quill» and other clichés studied in BMFEA 23, and the scale examined above, serve as short-forms for «dragon» and (in the latter case:) «snake», and as such abbreviations may be applied to other animals or other décor elements, enhancing their magical force, so here the lozenge, synonymous with the scale on snakes and dragons, has been applied, a short-form for those animals, as forehead element to other animal representations, again investing them with additional magical power.

It may sometimes serve as such a short-form quite alone and independently, e. g. in Fig. 85 (a detail on a Tsun). Here it alternates with the «Square with crescents», which I have shown (BMFEA 23, p. 25) to be simply a violent corruption of a dragon figure, and it is interesting, therefore, to observe that both the alternating elements originate in and certainly convey the idea of magical animals.<sup>1)</sup> A highly curious detail is observable on the famous Sumitomo bronze

<sup>1)</sup> A tantalizing question is that of the «Whorl circle» such as we have it for instance in Pl. 5. Since practically everything in the Yin décor has an animal origin, we might suspect this element to be likewise a distortion of some drawing pertaining to some animal. Consider, for instance, the eye of the owls in Figs. 18, 35. A slight corruption, making the slantingly curved lines not go right through but



representing a monster in the act of devouring a man (Fig. 86 = Senoku 68): the man has some kind of collar adorned with a row of lozenges.

In the light of the preceding we may also surmise that there is some magical meaning in the placing of plastically protruding lozenges on the bow handles of some «Yu» vessels (Fig. 87 = Senoku 62). A row of lozenges serving as border band (Fig. 88 = Kwankarō, shang 17, detail of a Kuei) is very rare indeed.

It may seem bold to surmise, as has been done both in the previous article and in the present one, that C-hooked quills and certain other clichés, scales and lozenges applied to bodily parts of other animals serve as abbreviations for dragons and snakes. Should we not then have real, completely drawn dragons and snakes in such positions on the principal décor animals? Certainly; and that is, in fact, what we often find. In our Fig. 14 the snake forms the shoulder line and the sweeping contour of the wing of an owl. And in our Fig. 89 (= Yechung II; shang 14) we find the dragon inserted and filling up most of the surface on the wing of another owl. It is quite common to find the horns of a T'aot'ie forming a dragon, and it would be easy to cite scores of other examples.<sup>1)</sup>

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stop half-way (thus naturally ending as volutes), would result in something very similar to the «Whorl circle». For such a modification compare first the fully drawn T'aot'ie horn in Fig. 43, and then the corruption with the crossing lines turned into volutes in Figs. 56, 57. But this remains a mere speculation so long as we have not found a real whorl circle directly taking the place of an eye in some animal representation.

<sup>1)</sup> The abbreviations in the references to printed works are those listed in BMFEA 23, p. 37.

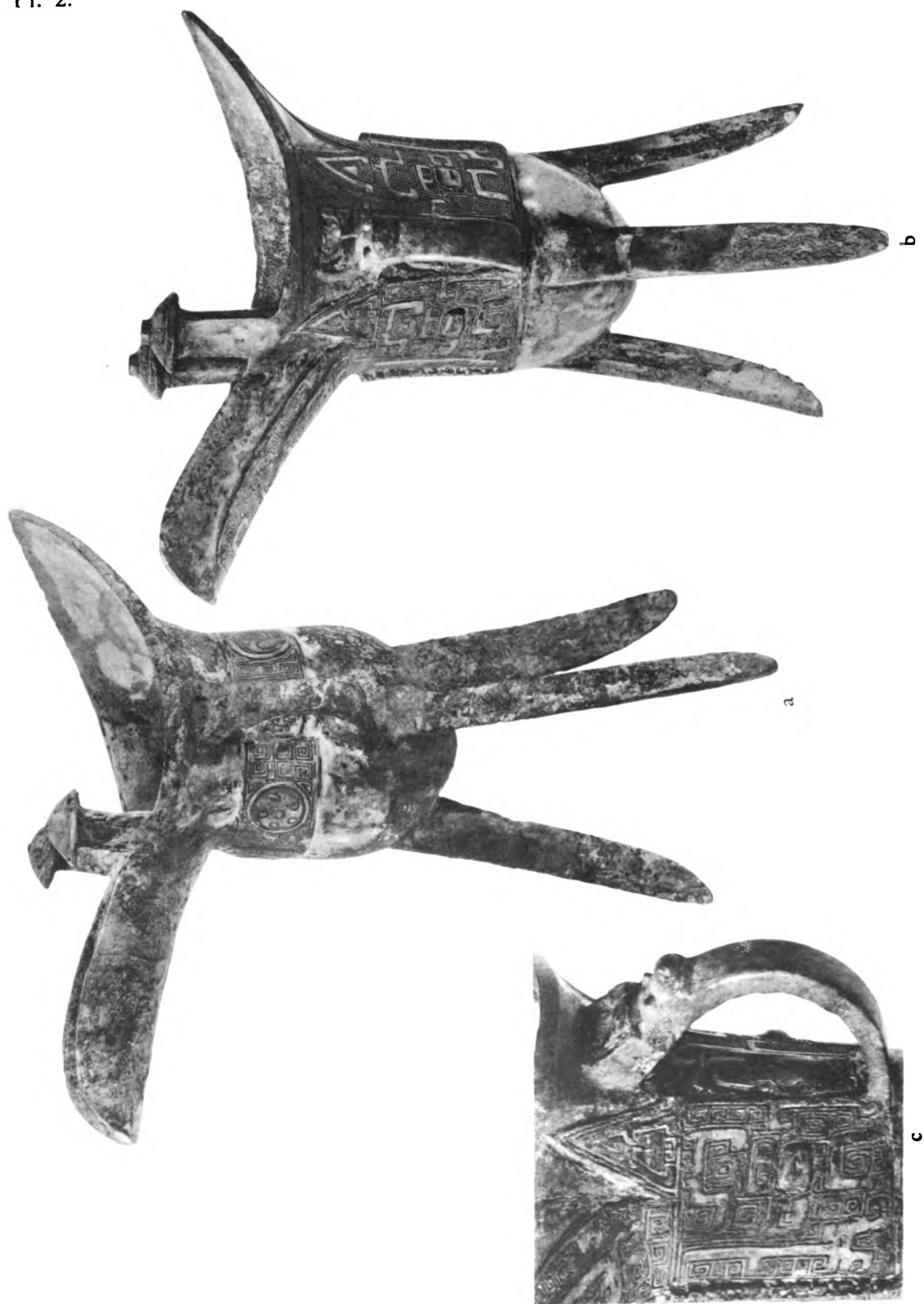




a



b

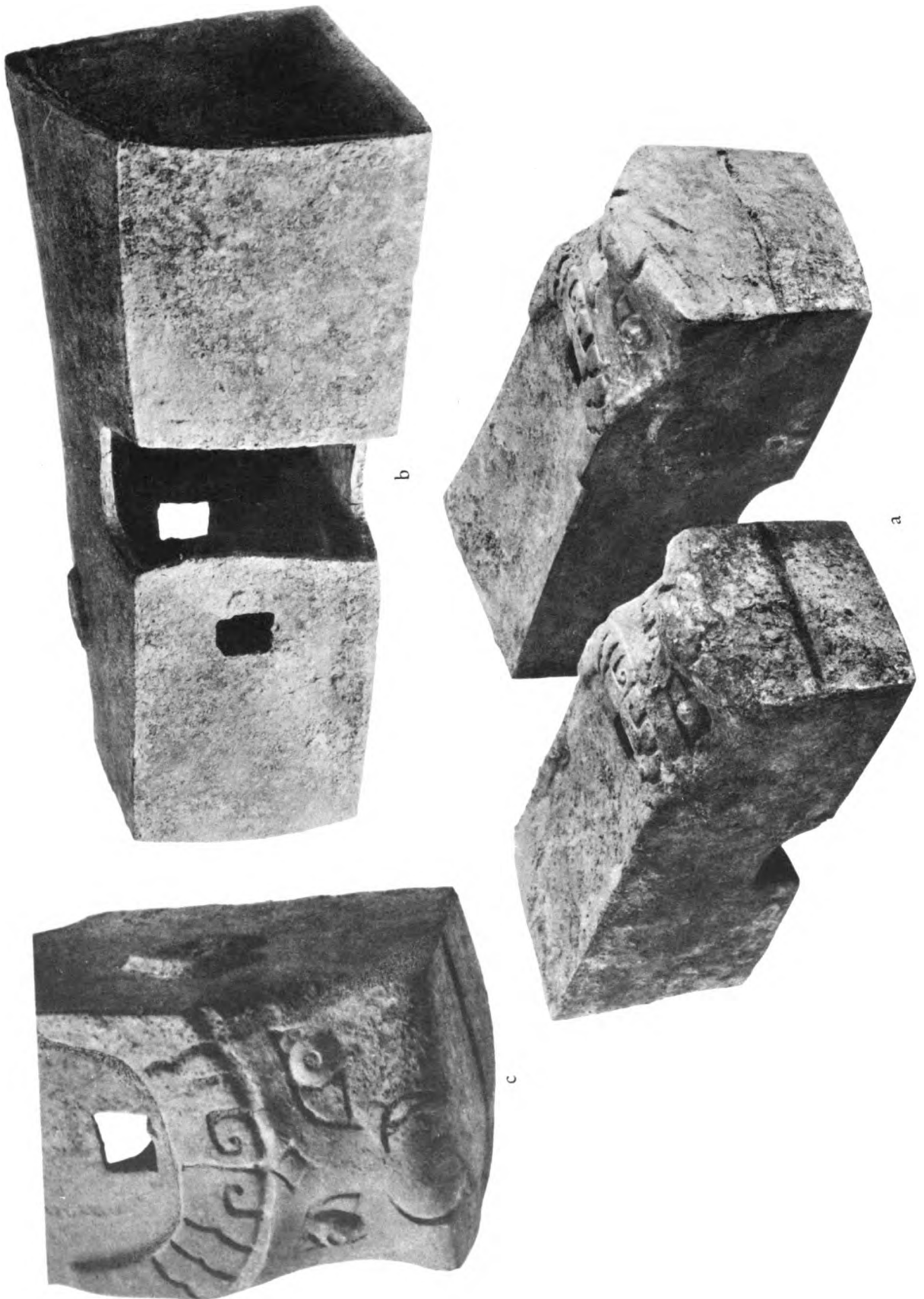




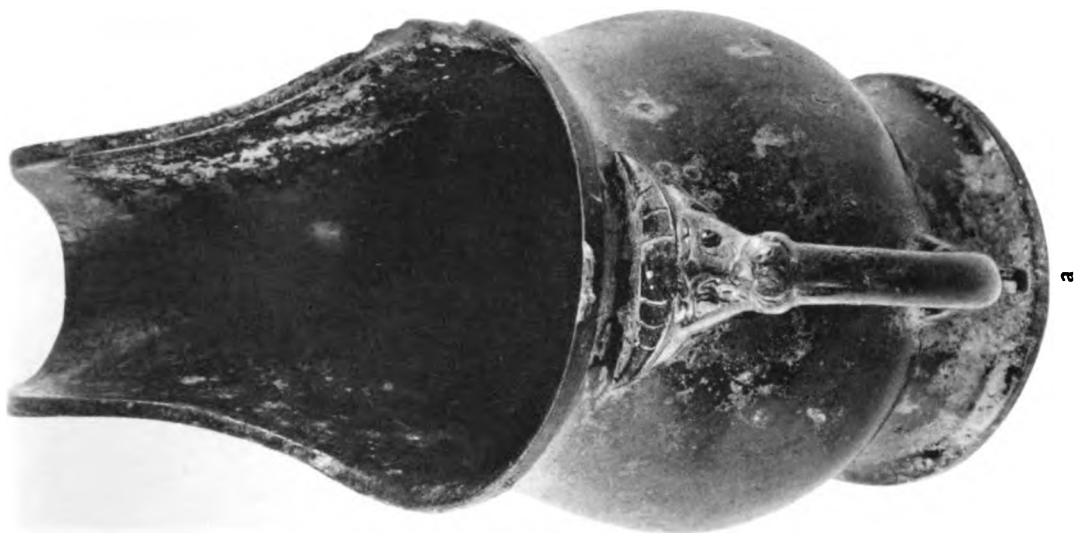






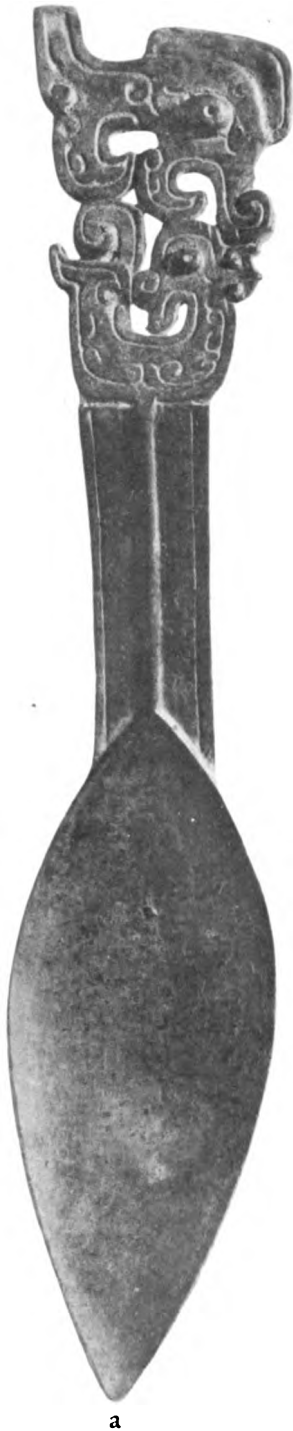




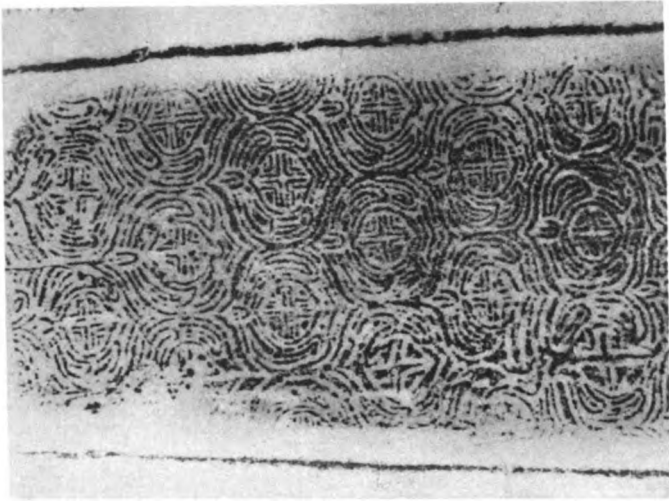




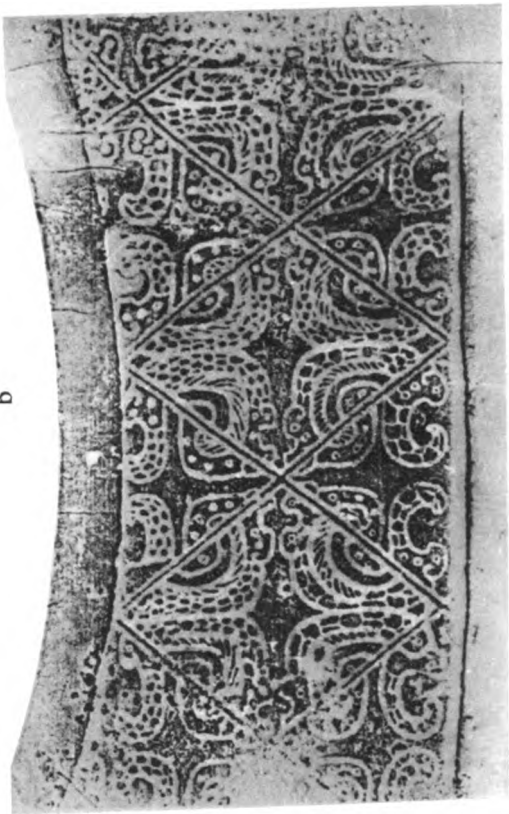








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a

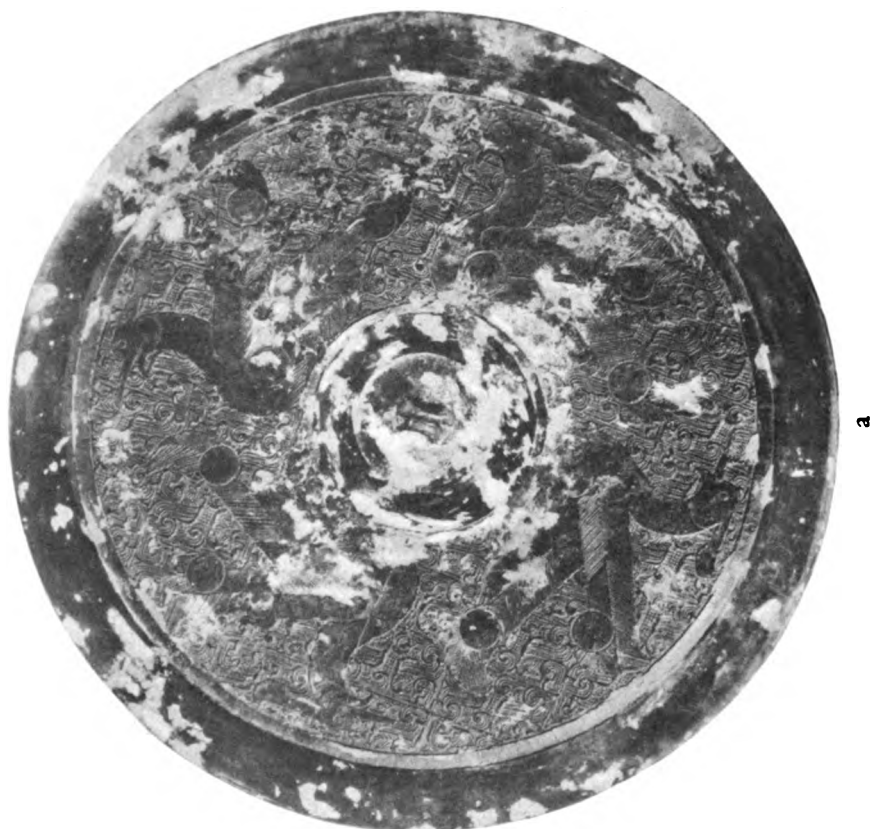


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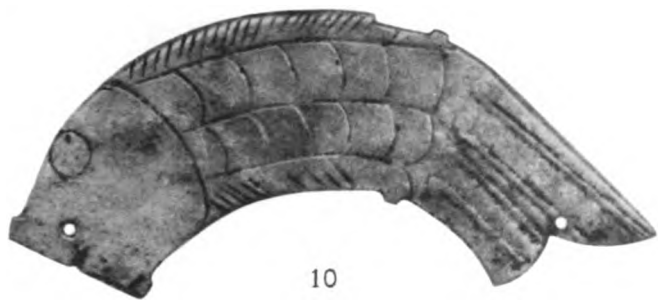


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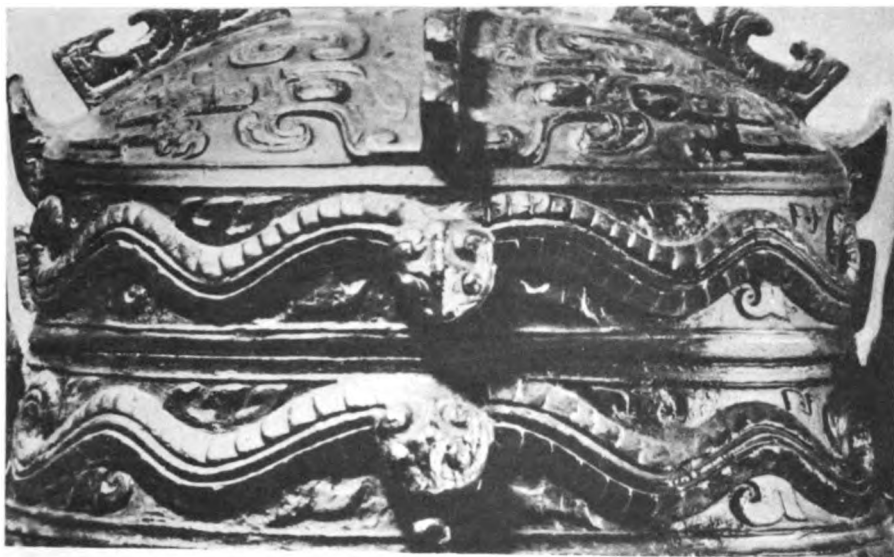




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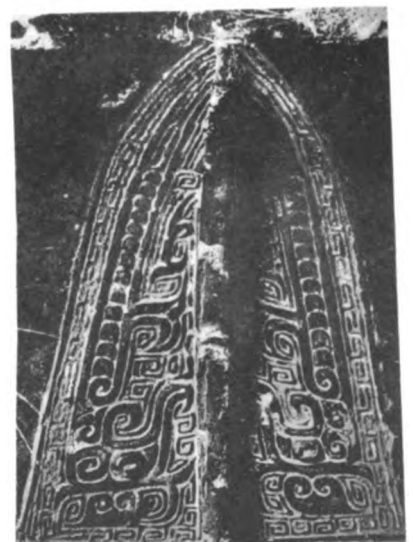
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20 b





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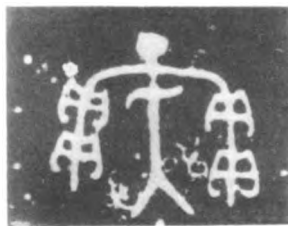
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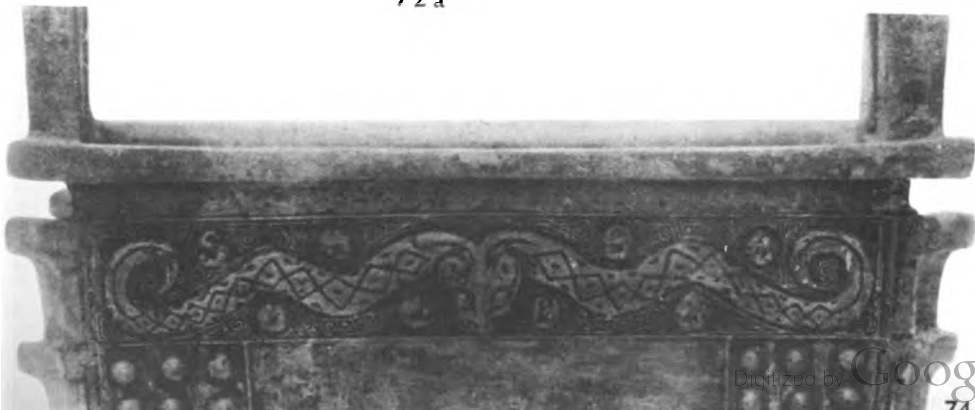
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72a





73



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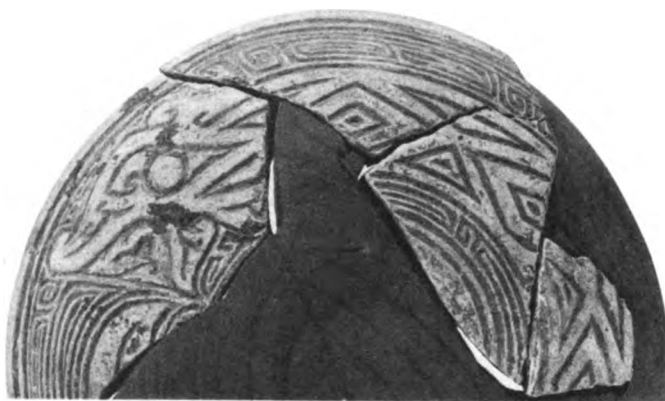
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81 a



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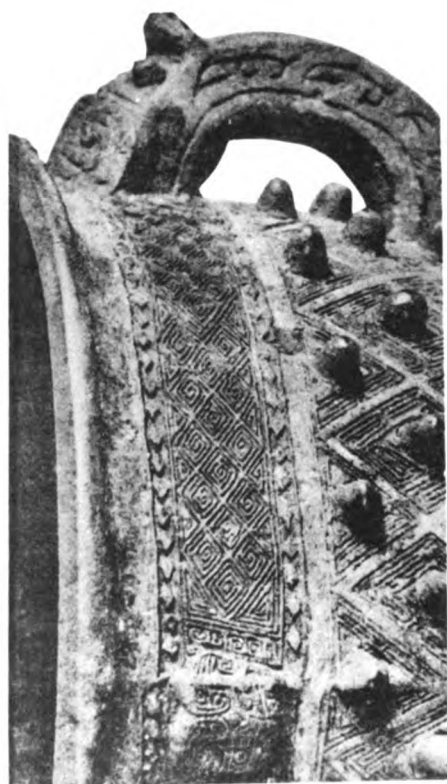
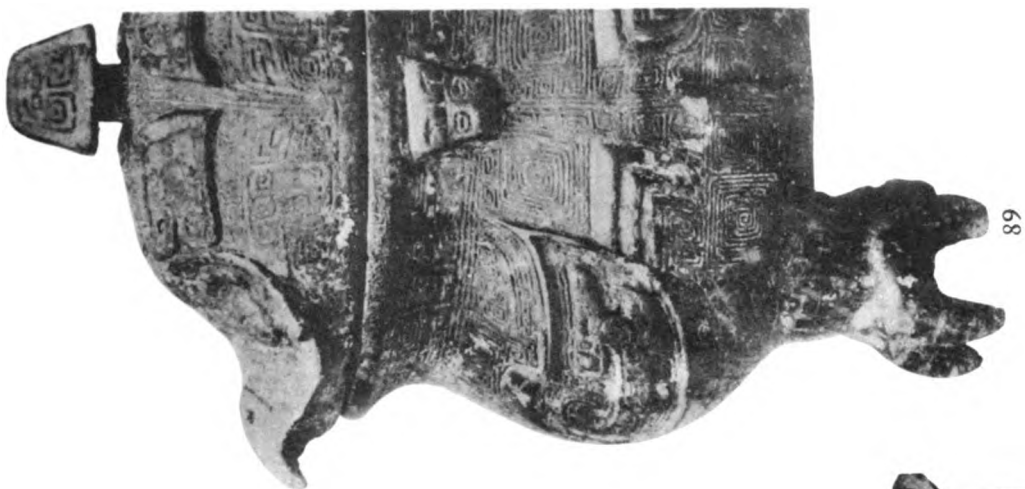
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# CHINESE LACQUER OF THE MIDDLE AND LATE MING PERIOD

BY

FRITZ LOW-BEER

The intention of this study is to continue and expand my work on early 15th century lacquer, already published.<sup>1)</sup> In trying to organize the material along lines similar to those followed for the earlier objects, certain difficulties are encountered. It must be remembered at the outset that the period under consideration is much longer, and there is a comparative abundance of material showing a greater variety of shape, treatment and style. The material to be discussed is complex, and our knowledge is scanty. Attribution to this period of a relatively large number of specimens is based on some inconclusive, partly subjective evidence. But since I am apparently unable to gather more detailed information concerning the objects, I hope I may be excused for presenting the material in this imperfect condition. In view of our lack of information concerning private, as opposed to Imperial workshops, the attribution of unmarked specimens is based primarily upon the style of their decoration.<sup>2)</sup> The products of the Imperial workshop vary subtly but not the less noticeably. Moreover, we cannot be certain to what extent, or how quickly the styles of the Imperial workshop were taken up by others. If, as seems very possible, many of the private workshops were also situated in Peking, it may be assumed that they were closely related to the Imperial manufactory. Such conditions in turn increase the difficulties in deciding whether specimens without an Imperial mark came from the Imperial workshop. The bases of some specimens do not appear to be in their original condition: they seem relacquered, and it is possible that some marks were thus obliterated. We do not know the rules which regulated the use of the mark. The long gaps in the chain of Imperial *nien hao* (only Chia-ching, Lung-ch'ing [one specimen only] and Wan-li marks are to be found between the reigns of Hsüan-tê and Ch'ien-lung) add to the difficulties. It is significant that while my first paper ended with the reign of Hsüan-tê, the present article begins only with the 16th century. None of the relatively numerous pieces which, though unmarked, may be attributed to this second period on various grounds, has the five-clawed dragon motif. This means that we do not have a single piece beyond the already recognized groups which could, with some justification, be assumed an Imperial product of one of the »missing» reigns. This may be just a coincidence.

The Imperial workshop does not seem to have maintained a large production. I would estimate the number of known Imperial Ming lacquers at about two hundred and fifty pieces, and the use of words such as «frequent», «many», or «numerous» in this paper must always be understood within the limits of this scarcity. Since Imperial pieces with apparently genuine date marks form the basis of this study, it follows that these will be subdivided into Chia-ching and Wan-li groups.

With the above considerations in mind the material can be divided thus:

1. Products of the Imperial workshop:
  - a. Chia-ching:
    - (1) Carved.
    - (2) Painted and incised, or «filled in».
  - b. Wan-li:
    - (1) Carved.
    - (2) Painted and incised, or «filled in».
    - (3) One pair of painted cabinets.
    - (4) One specimen inlaid with mother-of-pearl.
2. Products of private workshops:
  - a. Carved.
  - b. Other specimens.

#### Group 1, a. Chia-ching.

The specimens belonging to this group are less closely interrelated than were those of the early 15th century. The repertory of decorative motifs has been extended and the repeated use of certain patterns seems to have almost disappeared. An extensive use of both characters and symbols denoting longevity, happiness, and other felicitations is characteristic of this reign. The shapes also are more varied. Boxes frequently have curved sides; one box is in the shape of the character *shou* (Fig. 81).<sup>3</sup> Dishes or plates are often round but two are trefoil (Fig. 56). There are also round bowls of small size. The two rice measures (Figs. 61, 63) and the cylindrical vessel (Figs. 53, 54) are very unusual and perhaps unique.

Carving still is the favorite technique and the «B» style<sup>4</sup>) only seems to have been used. In keeping with the «B» style the rims of vessels with carved decoration are usually grooved, not smooth and rounded as are those of the «A» style done in the early 15th century.

I have previously attempted<sup>5</sup>) to show that a trend led from the relatively bold design of the early 15th century to minute intricacy in Ch'ien-lung works. A comparison of the earlier specimens<sup>6</sup>) with those reproduced here shows this develop-

ment clearly. The composition is less bold than in the early 15th century pieces, and the elements often have a restless quality which is sometimes reminiscent of the flickering tongues of flames.<sup>7)</sup> Many Imperial Chia-ching porcelains show the same stylistic characteristics.

There is less evidence of the medium and its techniques influencing the design of the decoration. Various diaper backgrounds appear frequently. There is never quite the same integration of the design into an all-over pattern, as could be observed on early 15th century specimens,<sup>8)</sup> even where the background is left plain.

Decorative motifs are used with great freedom. Early 15th century specimens could be arranged in three groups according to the principal decorative themes (A., flowers and foliage; B., figural scenes; C., dragons and/or phoenixes), but this scheme cannot be followed for the period under discussion. There does not seem to be a single specimen of Group A, nor do we find figural scenes of the kind rendered on examples of Group B.

Five-clawed dragons occur on most pieces either as the primary decoration or as borders, when the principal place is given to some longevity symbol or characters, or to a combination of these. The dragons vary considerably. Generally they are not so animated and vital. The bodies, often elongated and thin, are stiffer: the gradation in the size of the scales, which in the early 15th century emphasized the curves, has nearly disappeared. Frequently the snout is unduly prominent, and appears tacked on.

#### 1) Carved specimens.

The round box (Fig. 47) has a footrim 7 mm. high, decorated with a thunder pattern. The curved edges carry a floral decoration, and the vertical sides a diaper pattern. The carving is done in red over a buff background, the base and the inside are red. The mark is cut with a knife and filled in with gold (Fig. 48).

The conception of the design of the panel on the cover resembles that of the Yung-lo box mentioned in my earlier article.<sup>9</sup> Even a casual comparison shows the relative lack of boldness in the 16th century design. Except for a gaping mouth the dragon is rendered in the same position, but it is smaller in proportion to the panel. On the Yung-lo design the clouds form an integrated background for the dragon; here they are used mainly to fill the upper left of the panel, and a longevity character, rocks, waves and peony branches have been added. There is less integration of this multitude of forms: more of the smooth background is visible, increasing the prominence of the relief. This and the flickering character of the cloud-tongues and the waves give an impression of almost nervous restlessness or movement. The dragon itself is drawn in relatively strong lines but there is almost no gradation of scales and the nose and antennae are very stiff.

The design of the decoration, Fig. 49,<sup>10)</sup> may also be compared with another earlier specimen.<sup>11)</sup> Again the composition of the Chia-ching piece is less bold and

less integrated. It is also almost symmetrical, with the rock and its breaking waves, the character *sheng* (indicating »divine», »holy», »Imperial») and the cloud above it forming a central axis. In spite of the indiscriminate use of clouds, unusually large areas of smooth background are visible. The dragons have the thin, elongated bodies typical of this period: compared with the flowing curves of the earlier dragons those in Fig. 49 appear cramped.

The box shown in Fig. 50 is cylindrical with grooved rims. The cover is carved in red with two five-clawed dragons among clouds, diving into the water from the sky and upholding between them an unidentified object (drum? garden seat?) decorated with trigrams. Above this is the character *shou* and at the bottom is a rock surrounded by waves. The decoration is carved over a diaper background of air and waves.<sup>12</sup> The side (Fig. 51) is decorated with cranes and clouds over an »air» diaper background interrupted by cartouches containing peonies. The inside and base are black; the six character Chia-ching mark on the base has been cut with a knife and filled in with gold (Fig. 52). This box is more precisely and more finely carved than the preceding. Such considerable differences in quality as are seen in these two pieces do not occur among the early 15th century products of the Imperial workshop. The treatment of the clouds, flowers, and leaves is very similar to that of the box, Fig. 47. The dragons again have the elongated bodies seen in Fig. 49. The left dragon, however, is striped like a tiger, not only on the body but on the head. Its eyes and mouth also differ from the conventional type.

The cylindrical vase, Figs. 53, 54, is carved to an exceptional depth. The outside is red; the inside and base are black. In the base is the six-character mark of Chia-ching (Fig. 55), cut with a knife. The original gold filling has disappeared almost entirely. The dragon and the clouds are carved over a diaper background of waves and air. Although the principal decoration is unusually vigorous it still closely resembles the box, Fig. 50, in style and execution.

The trefoil tray, Figs. 56, 57, is again carved in red and it has a black base with the six-character Chia-ching mark done in the usual way (Fig. 58). The principal decoration has a diaper background of waves and air. This wave diaper blends to some extent with the waves done in relief on the lower part of the field. The great height of the central rock and the unusual quantity of crested waves are undoubtedly due to the peculiar shape of the decorated space. The dragons have the same elongated bodies as those of the two preceding specimens but their fifth claws have been cut away. The various fabulous animals on the borders occur but rarely at this time. One of the dragons of the outside border (Fig. 57) has its hind legs replaced by wings.

The plate, Fig. 59, is done in red, green, buff and black. It has the usual Chia-ching mark on the red base (Fig. 60). The design of the looped dragon is very awkward. The fifth claw has been cut away. The scales are similar to those of the dragon on the box, Fig. 47. The carving of the clouds and of the forked ribbon-like flame above the dragon's snout and behind and above its left foreleg differs

from that of the other pieces. Here these details are deeply hollowed, leaving only high narrow contours.

The two square vessels, Figs. 61, 63, are alike in everything except the theme of decoration. They differ from all other known specimens in variety of colors used and in carving technique. Since I have never had an opportunity of examining the piece shown in Fig. 61, I shall omit the description of salient characteristics. The vessel, Fig. 61, is carved in red, dark brown, wine red. The base carries a cut and gold-filled Chia-ching mark (Fig. 62). The decoration of each panel consists of five-clawed, rather agitated dragons with some rocks and a longevity character over a diaper background. On the upper part the diaper consists of a kind of three-lobed spiral which seems an entirely new feature.<sup>14)</sup> On this piece it replaces the usual »air» diaper and might, perhaps, be assumed to represent small clouds. On the other piece,<sup>15</sup> Fig. 63, we find it between the usual earth and air patterns but still as a »sky» background against which rocks, trees and other clouds stand out in relief. In the bowl, Fig. 71, this diaper alternated with the conventional air pattern as the background of the phoenixes. The design of the dragons follows the usual Chia-ching practice of elongated bodies. The snouts and the zigzag running along the spines are very prominent.

The other vessel, Fig. 63, has a decoration of Taoist figures, each of which is accompanied by an animal. On the side illustrated this is a five-clawed dragon; on another is a water buffalo; the third side has a goat or deer-like animal, and the fourth has a creature which I cannot identify. The carving is on three distinct levels. The lowest level is represented by the diaper pattern. On each of the four sides the top level consists of the majority of the decoration. Between these two levels is an intermediate plane, employed for various elements. On the side illustrated the top comprises nearly the whole Taoist figure, most of the clouds, rocks, and some parts of the dragon. But the dragon's body, some of the foliage of the trees, the inside of the figure's halo and the bottom part of his robe, and some of the clouds are carved on this intermediate plane. The sunken impression thus given can best be observed in the detail of the dragon's head and looped neck, Fig. 64. Here the eyes, eyebrows, snout, beard and contours are on the top level, with the intervening space sunk to the intermediate plane. To some extent the coloring increases the contrasts between these planes. The three-lobed spiral diaper is green in the surface with tan layers underneath, the earth diaper is green over red over tan. Most of the top level is cinnabar. The dragon's body is done in tan, the inside of the halo is a dark wine red, the lower part of the robe is dark brown. Some of the almost straight horizontal clouds are also dark brown. Altogether the colors used are: cinnabar, tan, green, wine red, and dark brown. I mention some specific examples only of how these are used; a comprehensive description is difficult because the combinations differ on each side. Attention should also be drawn to the treatment of the clouds. Usually these consist of a *jui*-shaped center surrounded by »tongues» which are derived from the same shape as on Fig. 47. Sometimes (for

example on the vase, Fig. 53) this center is more complex. In this case it consists of four lobed spirals, but the basic structure is still the same. On the square vessel, Fig. 63, we find two kinds of clouds. The spiraling clouds at the base of the rocks, around the figure, and in the corners show ridge-like contours, and the clouds' »bodies» slope sharply inward. These clouds are connected by wavy bands along the top rim. The flat and almost straight horizontal clouds have contours indicated by fairly shallow cut lines. These latter clouds are also to be found on the chest, Fig. 66, where they are combined with spirals. The inside and base of the rice measure are lacquered dark brown. The surfaces are not cracked and they appear to have been relacquered. The mark (Fig. 65) is beautifully cut and I accepted it at first as original. A close comparison with the marks on other pieces revealed, however, that it is somewhat more elegant and less substantial. These other marks are by no means wholly uniform but they all seem to be more solid, and individual strokes are thicker. The mark here still looks like the work of an Imperial artisan, and I think that the restoration work on the inside and base was done in the Imperial workshop, perhaps during the 18th century.<sup>16)</sup>

On the three specimens shown in Figs. 66, 67, 68 the five-clawed dragons appear only on the border decoration. Of these the chest, Fig. 66, is perhaps the most unusual.<sup>17)</sup> The decoration of the principal panels consists in the main of a large pine tree in the shape of the character *shou* growing out of a rock which is surrounded by flowers, foliage, and clouds carved over a smooth background. There is a marked intent to preserve smooth planes and through this the prismatic shape of the chest. This is accomplished primarily by an attempt at integration of details which is fairly successful wherever the task was relatively simple, i. e., in the case of related shapes such as the clouds or the pine-needles, which could be made to conform easily to each other. The character of the surface is further preserved by the curiously flat carving technique. The artisan has avoided undulating surfaces.

The boldness of the design on the center panel of the plate, Fig. 67, is reminiscent of early 15th century style, but the motif — peaches with the characters *shou*, *lu*, *fu*<sup>18</sup> — is typical for the Chia-ching period. Though bold, the design is really rather dull and stiff, owing to its symmetry. Individual lines also do not have the elegance of those on earlier pieces. It is to be noted that the peaches are decorated with the »lobed spiral» background pattern. On the border the dragons' bodies are unusually long, probably because only two are used; their fifth claws appear to have been cut away. The floral part of the border is very similar to the border of Fig. 47. The plate has the six-character mark of Chia-ching on a very dark brown base.

The box, Fig. 68, is done in red and green over a yellow base. The foot is decorated with a key pattern. The dragons again have elongated bodies. The inside is black (which may not be original<sup>19)</sup> and the base is red. It has the usual Chia-ching mark.

The square eight-lobed tray, Fig. 69, is unusual in shape and decoration. The nine four-clawed dragons are rendered without scales and the usual saw-toothed

line along the spine is replaced by one having spiral hooks at fairly distant intervals. The symbols of lute, umbrella, sword and snake do not occur on any other specimen. The black base carries an undoubtedly genuine mark (Fig. 70).

The bowl, Fig. 71, shows four phoenixes within lobed compartments done in red over a green background. Two of these compartments have the »lobed spiral» background. The rather unusual top border appears in slightly changed form also on the foot of the vase, Fig. 53. The base and inside of the bowl are dark brown;<sup>20</sup>) Fig. 72 shows the mark.

## 2) Painted and incised or »filled in» specimens.

In this group we find three specimens with dominant five-clawed dragon decoration, including the single known lacquer specimen with a Lung-ch'ing mark.

The shape of the eight-lobed box, Figs. 73, 74, is similar to the early 15th century specimen illustrated as Fig. 36 in B. M. F. E A. 22. The 15th century example is six-lobed, probably owing to its small diameter, and it is proportionately much higher in spite of the lack of a footrim; also, the sides slope at a much steeper angle. The box, Figs. 73, 74, is lacquered red outside with black interior and base: Fig. 75 shows the mark. The dragon is done in buff with black spine, green mane and reddish-brown eyes. The clouds and waves are buff, green and reddish-brown. The borders are dark green and buff. The engraved lines are filled in with gold, much of which has worn away. A comparison of the center panel with that of Fig. 47 shows considerable similarity in the design of details. The composition differs because there is no need to preserve a plane, but the drawing of individual clouds and waves is very closely related. The dragon is shown in a slightly different position, but it is very similar otherwise. The shape of its horns and antennae is nearly identical.

The five-lobed plate, Fig. 76, is also red with a black base and the Chia-ching mark (Fig. 77). The decoration is done in dark green, brown and gold. The dragon's body is unusually long and thin.

The box, Figs. 78, 79, 80, is of double-lozenge shape with curved sides, but it is remarkable primarily as the only specimen with a Lung-ch'ing mark known to me. It is considerably worn but the style of its decoration is identical with that of Chia-ching pieces. The box is lacquered red excepting the curved sides, which are buff. The decoration is done in various colors with the engraved lines filled in with gold. The inside and base are red.

The *shou*-shaped box, Fig. 81, makes a somewhat freakish impression. Although I saw this piece about eighteen years ago, I have no recollection of its colors and I do not know where it is now. I think that its basic color is red. There is the usual Chia-ching mark on its base. The decoration abounds with lucky symbols topped by a five-clawed dragon holding aloft a peach-shaped panel containing the character *sheng* (»sacred»). The drawing of the details of the decoration is the same as on

other pieces, but the composition is somewhat awkward, undoubtedly owing to the curiously shaped surface. The ribbons interspersed among the symbols have the sinuous flamelike quality mentioned before as typical of Chia-ching style.

The six-lobed plate, Fig. 82, is lacquered buff with a black base, and has a Chia-ching mark (Fig. 83).<sup>21</sup> The decoration is done in red, black, tan, brown and dark green. The engraved lines are filled in with gold. It might be mentioned that this plate and its pendant piece are the only specimens where the principal decoration is conceived in a relatively naturalistic rather than in an ornamental way. The three cranes appear to move freely in «natural» surroundings.<sup>22</sup>

#### Group 1, b. Wan-Li.

Among the products of the Imperial workshop during this reign we find a somewhat larger number of «filled in» specimens, a pair of painted cabinets, and for the first time a mother-of-pearl inlaid example. The not too numerous specimens do not show much imagination in the choice and arrangement of decorative motifs. Dragons with and without phoenixes occur most often. Longevity and similar characters have largely disappeared. The draughtsmanship has become rather stereotyped. The design of the dragons follows along the lines observed during Chia-ching's reign. Elongated bodies seem to have become universal. Although the dragons are occasionally rendered in fairly contorted positions (Figs. 85, 86), they do not give the impression of violent movement primarily because there is not sufficient tension in their contours.

Cyclical date marks occur frequently. Unfortunately we do not know what rules or customs governed the application of such precise dates and it is impossible to say why some pieces have just the usual *nien hao* or no mark at all. It seems that this practice of applying cyclical date marks was confined to the lacquer manufactory; we do not meet with it on the porcelains.

#### 1) Carved specimens.

These are done in a style resulting from a compromise between «A» and «B». The carving, though not of equal precision on all pieces, does not vary in style. Diapered backgrounds have become the rule, but exceptions are to be found on border decorations occasionally.

The round box with curved sides (Fig. 84) is done in red with dark green waves and yellow «air». Inside and base are black. The decoration is conventional with the exception of the central medallion of waves and flames. The Chia-ching box, Fig. 50, shows a somewhat similar principal design and a comparison of the two boxes discloses a further step toward that fineness and lack of boldness which found its ultimate expression in the Ch'ien-lung pieces. This effect is achieved by the relative profusion of small clouds and by the fine carving of such details as, for instance, the dragons' scales and the diapers. The border decoration is typical for



the period. The flowers and leaves are carefully drawn but there is only a faint trace of the elegant flowing lines so noticeable on early 15th century specimens. Conventionalization results in close hatching in the case of the veins of leaves.<sup>23)</sup> The carving is unusually precise.

The cabinet, Figs. 85, 86, is inscribed *Ta Ming Wan-li i yü nien chih*, corresponding to the year 1585 A. D. It is the earliest of the cyclical marks. All the dragons are shown against a wave diaper background. The crude carving may, perhaps, be seen best on the scales of the dragons.<sup>24)</sup> The quality of the drawing can be illustrated best by a comparison of the dragons with those on the Yung-lo cabinet and the Hsüan-tê table.<sup>25)</sup> The ascending dragon on the back of the Wan-li cabinet is in a position similar to the principal dragon on the table top. The Wan-li dragon has a rather long neck and a body of almost even thickness. The very violence of its curves, however, defeats the designer's purpose of indicating equally violent movement. It interrupts the flow of energy from head to tail. It suggests the wriggling of a snake on the ground rather than the soaring of a dragon. The striding dragons on the bottom drawer may be compared with the same results with that on the Yung-lo cabinet's bottom drawer or with those on the border of the table top. Once again lack of restraint can be observed in the treatment of neck and back. The dragon arches his back almost like a cat. This gives his body an upward movement not in harmony with the horizontal movement indicated by the striding legs.

The bowl, Fig. 87, is dated *Ta Ming Wan-li ping hsü nien chih* or 1586 A. D. (Fig. 88). It is lacquered buff over red, with red inside and base. The relief is rather high (about 3 mm) which gives the bowl a heavy thick-walled appearance. The dragon is rendered over a wave diaper background. Chronologically next in this series is the plate, Fig. 95, with a 1587 date, but since it has no dragon decoration, it will be discussed last. Then there is a five-year gap.

The box, Fig. 89,<sup>26)</sup> is dated 1592 A. D. On the photograph the mark (Fig. 90) does not look convincing. It is possible that the base was relacquered and the mark recut. In such an eventuality the original date might well have been used. The shape of this box is typical for the period, and may be found also on porcelain boxes. The decoration is done over a background of «waves» and «earth» which replace the usual «air» pattern. The floral decoration of the narrow borders and on the corners has a smooth background. I have no description of this piece but would assume this background to be yellow.<sup>27)</sup>

The large plate, Fig. 91, is dated *Ta Ming Wan-li jen ch'en nien chih*, corresponding to the year 1592. It is lacquered red, the smooth background of the border panels is yellow, the base is black (Fig. 92). The theme of seven dragon medallions is unusual. The dragons are carved over a star-shaped diaper background. The fifth claws have been cut away. The dragon on the right center medallion is in a position similar to those of the Chia-ching box, Fig. 47, and of the Yung-lo box<sup>28)</sup>. Its movement appears sluggish primarily because the body is so long that the

variations in its width become too gradual to be effective. Both the Yung-lo and the Chia-ching dragon bring the head slightly lower down toward the neck, making the curve of the neck appear more violent. The Yung-lo dragon's tail is curved much more strongly than the tails of both 16th century dragons. The Chia-ching dragon has a shorter tail which begins to thin noticeably behind the hind legs. On the Wan-li dragon the same movement is too gradual to be effective.

The box, Fig. 93, is dated 1595. It is carved in buff over a red star-shaped diaper background; the floral border has a smooth background. Inside and base are red. The fifth claws have been cut away. This box is very closely related to the bowl, Fig. 87. On the bowl the dragon is done in a different position and over a wave background but the general character is the same. There was, apparently, no change in style during the nine years separating these two pieces.

The small plate, Fig. 94, seems to be the only unmarked specimen within the Imperial group.<sup>29)</sup> It is so closely related to some of the other pieces, however, that I do not hesitate to consider it a product of the Imperial workshop. It is lacquered red over green and yellow backgrounds. The base is black. The decoration of the center panel is obviously a variation of the border shown on the large plate, Fig. 91. The style, drawing and carving especially of the flowers and leaves are almost identical, not only with that of the border of the plate, Fig. 91, but also with that of all other specimens carrying this type of floral decoration.

The plate, Fig. 95, differs from the other carved examples in its very low relief. It is red with a black base. It is dated 1587 (Fig. 96). There is an obvious intention to minimize three-dimensional effects, and to approximate a «painted» impression. This is increased through the wide use of finely engraved detail. The subject matter of the decoration might indicate that it was inspired by some porcelain, it is rather reminiscent of a five-color plate. The type of decoration — a bowl on a five-legged stand heaped with fruits and vegetables — might well be called a «still-life» and as such it represents a new development. «Still-lives» do not seem to occur on any lacquer specimens which could be dated earlier than Wan-li, neither do I recall having seen any on porcelains of an earlier date. The «bowl» is engraved with a floral scroll and the wings and bodies of the two butterflies and the two bees are dotted and engraved with scrolls. The border on the reverse side is somewhat crudely carved. Its design leaves much of the background free.

## 2) Painted and incised or «filled in» specimens.

The brush-holder, Fig. 97, is in exceptionally good condition.<sup>30)</sup> It is of an unusually bright red with the decoration done in green and yellow and black. The incised lines are filled with gold. It is dated 1601 (Fig. 98). While the style of the decoration is in keeping with the period, although the use of the *shou* character is rare, the dragons are drawn in a singularly inept way. They seem to have been frozen in a dance position, standing on one leg. Even their faces seem to express concentrated

stiffness. The symmetrical treatment of the rocks and especially of the waves rising in the center increases the impression of stiffness.

The box, Fig. 99, is one example of a type of which at least two more are known.<sup>31)</sup> It is lacquered red with dark green, brown, buff, yellow and black decoration. The borders on the curved sides have a yellow background. The inside and base are black. The mark (Fig. 100) reads *Ta Ming Wan-li chi wei nien chih*, corresponding to 1619 A. D., incidentally, the last year of Wan-li's reign.

The pair of small jars with Hsüan-tê marks illustrated in the earlier article probably belong to this group.<sup>32)</sup>

The cabinet, Figs. 101—104, is lacquered reddish-buff with the decoration done in dark green, red and brown with the engraved lines filled with gold. The Wan-li mark at the top of the back (Fig. 104) is painted in gold. It is possible that this was originally a «double chest» with an upper part. The piece seems to be of excellent quality. The decoration of the doors consists of two bold dragons rising from the waves through clouds. There are at least two more dragons among the waves,<sup>33)</sup> an unusual feature. The large dragons (Fig. 101) are similar to the right dragon of the box, Fig. 84. The cloud formations are rather elaborate, but they do not form a continuous chain. The use of the painted decoration for the sides and back only would indicate that this technique was considered inferior. This may be the reason why it seems to have been used rarely by Imperial artisans.

### 3). Painted cabinets.

The cabinet, Figs. 105, 106, is one of a pair. The decoration is painted in gold over a brown background. The Wan-li mark is on the upper end of the back panel. The arrangement of the front decoration is relatively simple. The main panels are painted with dragons and clouds only. The dragons have very long bodies corresponding to the comparatively long and narrow spaces. The border of the rear is similar to such decoration found on the carved specimens.

### 4) Inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

The single example with mother-of-pearl inlay (Fig. 107) is being included in the Imperial group because of the type of its mark (Fig. 108) and because of its quality. The mark is inlaid with mother-of-pearl and the calligraphy seems good. The box is black throughout and the inlay is green and pink. It is difficult to describe the rather curious quality of the lacquer. It is not very brilliant but it gives an impression of great solidity because of its perfect adherence to the body material which is probably wood. The lacquer on the base is cracked but elsewhere only a fine crackle is discernible under a magnifying glass. The style of the decoration is typically Wan-li. The drawing of individual leaves is particularly characteristic.

\* \* \*

We now pass on to the products of private workshops. Some of the specimens to be mentioned here are definitely »private» products. Some individual pieces and even groups, usually of the carved variety, are being included here because there is no real evidence for their attribution to the Imperial group. If we had a fairly complete range of Imperial Ming lacquers then even such negative evidence would be valuable. In the murky light of present knowledge we must still be guided by this unsatisfactory evidence but we ought to bear in mind that some attributions in this chapter are very tentative.

#### Group 2, a. Carved specimens.

Sir Percival David's plate (Fig. 109)<sup>34)</sup> is the only known lacquer specimen with a Hung-chih mark. It reads *Hung-chih érh nien* corresponding to 1489 A. D. This is finely engraved on the beam above the doorway of the palace. The door pillars carry the inscription *P'ing Ling* and *Wang Ming-tiao*<sup>35)</sup>. The plate is carved in red over diaper backgrounds in yellow and dark green. The border of the back has a decoration of panels with figures, phoenixes and dragons. The base is covered with black lacquer with a deeply carved poem of the Orchid Pavillion between fungus scrolls in relief.<sup>36)</sup> The inside border shows four Taoist *hsien* riding on a log, a carp, a bamboo leaf and a dragon, respectively, among waves and rocks. The carving is in a fine »B» style and in relatively low relief. Overlapping details of the decoration are on nearly the same level. This treatment adds to the general impression of fineness. The scene is varied and full of rich detail which is done so discreetly that there is no impression of overcrowding. The waves of the lake are carved into the highest level of the relief and do not form a background pattern as on the early 15th century specimens.<sup>37)</sup> The sailboat and its occupants are subtly carved between the waves at practically the same level. The top level of the diaper is dark green, this has been largely worn away so that much of the underlying yellow is now on the surface.

The box shown in Fig. 110 has curved sides and a footrim 13 mm high. It is carved in red over a dark green and yellow background. The inside and base are black and at least to some extent repaired. On the inside of the cover is a four character inscription painted in red but it is so much worn that it cannot be read. The principal decoration is so closely related to that of the plate, Fig. 109, that it must be a product of the same workshop, done at approximately the same time. Although the design of the central panel is less rich than that of the plate, the treatment of such details as roofs, lake and boat, the figures, animals and rocks in the foreground is the same. The diaper background of the box is in better condition but it also does not differ from that of the plate. The border decoration of three-clawed dragons and floral scrolls is done over a smooth yellow background. The footrim is decorated with a thunder pattern.

The octagonal box, Figs. 111, 112, is decorated with figural landscape panels.

The footrim, 13 mm high, carries a bold thunder pattern. The »B» style carving is done in red over green and yellow diaper backgrounds. The relief is higher and its various levels are much more distinct than on the two preceding pieces. Details such as the brick wall of the terrace or the marking of the tree-trunks are carved into greater depth. In this piece the »earth» diaper is lifted to a high level and done in red only. The inside and base are black but they do not appear to be in their original condition. There is no evidence that this box was produced by a private maker. If the Imperial workshop in Chia-ching's time made any pieces with figural landscape decoration, their appearance must have been at least very similar to this box. I believe that it was made in the 16th century.

The following four specimens, Figs. 113, 114, 115, 116, appear to be products of the same workshop.<sup>38)</sup> They are all carved over smooth backgrounds in a very characteristic »B» style. The design is always crowded and very little background is visible. Drawing and carving combine to give an impression of movement which might almost be called tortuous. The carver seems afraid of leaving any flat or smooth surfaces. Wherever the nature of the subject matter permits he has cut sharply inwards from the outlines, which are left as narrow ridges. The effect is increased through the use of many small details; larger ones are frequently broken up into many rows of ridges which are separated by deep cuts. This can be observed best on the rock and on the clouds of the box, Fig. 113, and on the dragon's tails and clouds of box, Fig. 115. The center panel of the box, Fig. 113, is decorated with a variety of insects and other small animals, prune blossoms, pines, bamboo, a rock and clouds. The same insects and animals occur on a round dish, and I propose to call the entire group the »Insect group». The forms of the subject matter — especially those of the bamboo leaves and the insects — combine with the abrupt manner of carving to give the whole decoration a sharp and pointed aspect.

The tray, Fig. 114, is carved in a dark reddish-brown. The bamboo-like treatment of the rim is unique. The rope-like appearance of the pine trunk is in keeping with the general style of this group and this feature is found also on two other trays.

The principal decoration of the box, Fig. 115, consists of a pair of winged dragons, clouds and scrolls. The dragons are drawn with elegant flowing lines and the general impression is one of whirling movement differing somewhat from the sharp and pointed aspect of the other pieces. The treatment of the border is very similar to that of the other specimens, however. The black inside and base do not seem to be in their original condition. The base carries a Hsüan-tê mark which is undoubtedly a late addition. There is a footrim, 13 mm high, carrying a version of the thunder pattern.

The peonies on the stem-cup, Fig. 116, are the same as those on the borders of the tray, Fig. 114, and of the box, Fig. 115. The group seems to be sufficiently related to the Imperial Chia-ching specimens — especially through its use of the »B» style — to place it within the 16th century.

The bowl and its three-legged stand, Fig. 117, are lacquered in alternating layers

of black and red with the top in black. The bowl has a footrim decorated with a thunder pattern which fits into the stand and cannot be seen on the photograph. The inside and base of the bowl are lined with metal. The decoration of phoenixes and peonies is carved over a smooth yellow background. The design is integrated to such an extent that only very narrow areas of background are visible. The peony flowers and leaves are highly stylized and the carving is rather flat. There is no modelling within the petals or leaves. The rim of the stand is decorated with peonies in four panels which are separated from each other by a relatively bold star-shaped diaper. The style of the floral decoration is slightly related to some of the borders found on Chia-ching and Wan-li specimens (Figs. 47, 92). A 16th century attribution seems appropriate.

The following five examples represent a group carved in the «A» style. They are all carved in red over red diaper backgrounds. The bowl, Fig. 121, and the stem-cup, Fig. 119, are silver lined inside and on the base. The sacrificial cups, Fig. 122, (there is a pair) are silver lined on the inside. The box, Fig. 118, has a Chia-ching mark which I had accepted in 1936.<sup>39)</sup> The inside and base have undoubtedly been relacquered and the mark is clumsily cut. There are traces of old gold in the characters. It is impossible to decide whether the mark has been recut after the relacquering of the base or whether it is a new addition. The «old gold» could have been applied to give it a more authentic look. It is worth noting that none of the other pieces in this group are marked. Under the circumstances it would seem advisable to disregard the mark entirely. In 1936<sup>40)</sup> I attempted to demonstrate that the decoration of this box would fit stylistically into a period lying between Hsüan-tê and Wan-li, and since then I have come to doubt the Hsüan-tê attribution of the box used for the demonstration. Of the five examples shown here the stem-cup, Fig. 119, seems to have Wan-li characteristics. The drawing of the peony blossoms and leaves has the slightly stiff curved lines of the period. The phoenix seems related to those on the side of the metal-inlaid box, Fig. 131. The lizard-dragon on the stem (scarcely visible in the reproduction) also occurs on the box, Fig. 131, and on other pieces which are probably Wan-li. The decoration of the four other pieces is conceived differently and it is also more sensitively drawn. This can be best observed on the panel, Fig. 120. They may be earlier than the stem-cup but I would not entirely exclude the possibility of a later date.

The box, Figs. 123, 124, was not available for inspection. The decoration is carved. The «Guri» treatment above the footrim is unusual, especially on a box. The style of the phoenixes and of the floral decoration is closely related to that of similar details on the sides of the box, Figs. 131, 132. Both specimens show a wide use of spirals in connection with the floral decoration. This is not to be found on any of the Imperial pieces. It is curious that two examples differing so widely in technique should be so closely related in the style of some of the decorative motifs. Since the box, Fig. 131, has a genuine Wan-li mark, there can be little doubt that the box, Figs. 123, 124, was made during the same period.

The dish, Figs. 125, 126, came to me from China with a Sung or Yüan attribution. With the exception of the central medallion, which has a gold background, the decoration is carved in light brown over red. The diapered circle framing the central medallion is raised by 5 mm and curves outwards. The base is yellow. The bearded and apparently non-Chinese kneeling figure carries on its head a tray with a *chüeh*-shaped vessel. The carving is done in pure »A« style. The raised frame of the central medallion is to be found frequently on 14th century blue-and-white and red-and-white porcelain dishes. The lizard-dragons occur on *Ting yao* specimens of the Sung period but also and more frequently on Wan-li objects. The quality of the drawing and carving is superior to any late Ming piece I have seen. Other carved late Ming specimens do not show such large areas of smooth background. Nevertheless, the floral decoration on the back (Fig. 126) seems to have a 16th century character. The narrow outer border resembles the floral decoration on the curved side panel of the Wan-li box, Fig. 89, and the border of the Chia-ching box, Fig. 47. The treatment of the peony blossoms of the inner border is very reminiscent of the early 15th century, but they are much smaller. The leaves again show the slightly stiff feeling characteristic for Wan-li. In addition there is the somewhat fussy design of the ribbons surrounding the four lions. Since we do not know any Sung or even Yüan specimens, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion concerning the date of this dish, but I am inclined to consider it the work of an excellent maker of the Wan-li period.

The so-called »Guri« lacquers are a very difficult problem because there seems to be only one dated specimen (Fig. 127) and their decoration is unrelated to either other lacquers or porcelains. We do not know whether they were the products of one or several workshops, or of any particular region. Dr. Maenchen-Helfen believes that the *hsi-p'i* mentioned in the *Cho-keng-lu*<sup>41)</sup> were »Guri« lacquers, which would place their origin at least as far back as the Yüan period. »Guri« lacquers are usually lacquered in layers of alternating colors. Examples which seem to date from the Ming period are done in red and black over a yellow background. The number of color layers does not correspond to the number of lacquer layers, each color layer consisting of several coats. If the top color layer is black, a predominant black cast is given to the entire piece by making the subsequent black layers at least twice as thick as each red layer. This thickness is achieved by applying a greater number of coats of black lacquer than of red. If the top layer is red, which happens rarely, the reverse procedure was followed and red is then the dominant color throughout. These specimens may also differ in style and boldness of design. Boldness, as for instance on the box, Fig. 129, results in relatively wide flat or slightly convex top areas. The corresponding areas of the less bold center decoration of the box, Fig. 127, are very considerably smaller.<sup>42)</sup>

The box, Fig. 127, is lacquered black and red over a yellow background. Interior and base are dark brown. The four-character Wan-li mark (Fig. 128) is not skillfully cut. At least parts of it seem to have been recut; possibly the whole mark is a later

addition. It is impossible to come to a definite conclusion because we do not know how much calligraphic skill to expect from a private and perhaps provincial artisan. The decoration on the cover with its large diapered area is certainly in keeping with Wan-li taste. The sides are decorated with spiral-tendrils. The lacquer on the inside looks »transparent» and has some rather old-looking cracks which add to the general Ming appearance of the box. I do not doubt that the Wan-li mark, regardless of its authenticity, indicates the right period.

The box shown in Fig. 129 is also lacquered black and red over a yellow background with dark brown interior and base. The only indication for dating this box is its shape which seems to be typically Wan-li. Many blue-and-white porcelain boxes of that period have the same shape.

#### Group 2, b. Other specimens.

The bowl, Fig. 130, is lacquered dark brown; the decoration consists of silver foil and mother-of-pearl inlay and gold lacquer painted on a light brown foundation. The gold was originally accented with black which is now almost completely gone. On the black base is a — perhaps authentic — Chia-ching mark painted in gold lacquer on a red foundation. The two masks on the sides are later additions. The style of the decoration and the appearance of the lacquer make a 16th century date entirely plausible.

The long rectangular box shown in Fig. 131 is unusual in technique and quality. It is lacquered black on the outside and red on the inside. Its frame is completely bound in a now brownish metal which appears to be white or nearly white when cleaned. The decoration on the top and on the sides (Fig. 132) seems to have been cut or sawed of sheets of the same metal. Linear details within the metal decoration, such as the folds of the robes, the roof tiles and the contours of the rocks, are engraved and filled in with black lacquer. It is possible that this was achieved by overlaying all decorated surfaces entirely with lacquer, which would then have been ground to the level of the metal decoration. The figural scenes are arranged within three lobed compartments. The spaces between these compartments are filled with lizard-dragons and floral scrolls. The corners are bounded by elaborately lobed borders creating triangular spaces filled with phoenixes (or cranes?) and clouds. The spaces between the corner borders and the adjacent compartments are compressed and inharmonious, with no relation between the proportions and speed of the opposing curves. The sides are decorated with flowers and foliage, phoenixes and peacocks. The inscription on the base is painted in red lacquer (Fig. 133). It reads *Wan-li keng ch'en Wang Lien-ch'ü chih*, giving the date as 1580 A. D. Wang Lien-ch'ü is probably the makers name.<sup>43</sup>)

The covered six-legged tray (Fig. 134) is lacquered black. The diaper and the flowers and leaves are inlaid with mother-of-pearl; the thin stems are metal wire. The surface of the tray is decorated with floral scrolls similar to those on the cover.



The style of the decoration is very similar to that of the box, Fig. 107, but the workmanship is considerably coarser. There is no reason to doubt its late Ming origin.

The three-tiered box, Fig. 135, is also lacquered black but it has later been covered with some colorless varnish to prevent the mother-of-pearl inlay from falling out. The mother-of-pearl is quite thin, almost as on *burgauté* lacquers. The decoration on the top of the cover represents a high official astride a horse, accompanied by attendants, approaching a house with a man and attendant standing on its steps waiting to receive him. The decoration on the sides is very similar to that of the border of the plate, Fig. 91, and the flowers and birds within panels can also be found on the borders of Imperial Wan-li five-color porcelain plates.

Fig. 136 shows one of a pair of black lacquered double-chests.<sup>44)</sup> The front is inlaid with thick mother-of-pearl, various colored stones and colored glass which occasionally shows details painted in black underneath.<sup>45)</sup> The sides are painted with floral decoration supplemented with some thin mother-of-pearl inlay. They show a close relationship to the group of boxes with apocryphal Hsüan-tê marks described in my previous article.<sup>46)</sup> It seems likely that both the chests and the boxes were produced by the same workshop.

Figs. 137 and 139 show two examples of a relatively frequent type characterized principally by sides woven of bamboo fibres. Such pieces are often inscribed and dated. The box, Fig. 137, is framed with metal. The bamboo weave shows a staggered under-and-over pattern of X-shapes not visible on the photograph; these woven panels are surrounded by thin strips of black lacquer next to the metal frame. Top and bottom are lacquered black. The painted decoration on the top, showing a figural landscape, is much worn, making it difficult to determine the extent of the original color scheme. It seems that red, brown, green, white and gold were used. The inscription, painted in gold on the base (Fig. 138) states that this was the toilet box of Lady Kie from Sung and made in 1633 A. D.

The covered tray, Fig. 139, is lacquered red with narrow gold borders. Here the bamboo weave has no pattern, and the quality of the painted decoration is inferior to that of the preceding box. Blue, green, brown, white, orange and gold are the principal colors. All panels are framed with gold lacquer. The inscription, painted in red on the black base, gives the date 1634 A. D.

The box shown in Fig. 140 is an example of marbled lacquer. It is done in three shades of red, buff and black, giving a vague spiral pattern. The marbled effect appears to have been achieved through an uneven application of grounding material. This was covered with layers of alternating colors of lacquer. Subsequent grinding would bring out different colored layers, producing the marbled effect on top. The inside of the box is brown. My attribution of this to the end of the Ming period is based primarily on the similarity of its shape to that of porcelain boxes of the Wan-li period<sup>47)</sup>.

The relationship between the lacquers and porcelains is much closer than it was in the early 15th century. This is due primarily to the decreased integration

of the design of the carved lacquers, but also to the often more crowded decoration of the porcelains. Five-clawed dragons usually have the same prominent snouts and the same elongated bodies which are to be found on most Imperial lacquers.<sup>48)</sup> The dragon on a Wan-li ink-slab in the Bloxam collection (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)<sup>49)</sup> makes a dancing impression similar to that on the brush-holder, Fig. 97. Flame-like clouds<sup>50)</sup> and *shou*-characters<sup>51)</sup> also occur frequently. A Wan-li box in the Lauritzen collection in Stockholm<sup>52)</sup> is closely related to the box, Fig. 89; the main difference lies in the fact that the porcelain box has a pair of dragons on the cover rather than a dragon and a phoenix. A small Wan-li plate in the same collection<sup>53)</sup> is very similar to the lacquer plate, Fig. 95. Floral decoration typical for the Wan-li period occurs on a box in the Eumorfopoulos collection<sup>54)</sup>.

It may be appropriate at this point to make a few corrections in Col. Strange's book, «Chinese Lacquer».<sup>55)</sup> Surprisingly, this volume does not mention a single specimen with a Chia-ching or a Wan-li mark. The attributions appear to have been made haphazardly not only within the Ming period but also in the case of Ch'ing specimens. We do not know any examples with Imperial Kang-hsi marks and it seems somewhat hazardous to attribute any pieces definitely to that period. In surveying Col. Strange's Ming attributions I would consider those of the pieces shown on the following plates to be correct: Pls. III, IV, VI, VII (upper), VIII (left), XI (this may be an Imperial Chia-ching specimen), XXX (late Ming), perhaps XXXI, XL, XLI and XLVI. Of the others, the table, Pls. I, II, is, of course, Hsüan-tê; Pl. V is Ch'ing, probably Ch'ien-lung; Pl. VII (lower) may not be Chinese at all (there is certainly not the slightest ground for a Cheng-tê attribution); Pl. VIII (right) is probably Japanese; Pls. IX and X, Ch'ing, probably Ch'ien-lung; Pl. XXXII: if these gold and silver lacquer boxes are indeed all Chinese they can scarcely be earlier than the 18th century; Pl. XLII: the dragon and, even more so, the cloud pattern surrounding it, and the floral scrolls outside the panels suggest a Japanese origin for this piece (even if it should be Chinese I would consider it to be of the Ch'ing period); Pl. XLIII: nothing is known about this type of work; it may be Japanese or Chinese, but I would not consider it to be earlier than the 18th century; Pl. XLVII: the author rightly compares this to the covered bowl shown on Pl. XXIX (top); he is, however, mistaken in attributing it to an earlier period than Ch'ing.

I have attempted in the foregoing to present as many examples of middle and late Ming lacquer as was feasible. The catalogue was divided into Imperial and non-Imperial groups; these groups, in turn, were subdivided according to various techniques. Within these categories most of the salient characteristics of style and technique have been established. As regards private workshops, we still cannot be sure that all the attributions made are chronologically correct. But there emerge certain groups (for example, the «Insect groups») which have qualities so specific that they must be the products of distinct manufactories. Whether or not future

research will uncover any precise geographical locations for these private workshops remains to be seen.<sup>56)</sup>

In conclusion, thanks are due to: Dr. E. Zschocke, of the Herbig-Haarhaus AG, Cologne, for numerous photographs and descriptions; Kojiro Tomita and Robert Paul Dart, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Alan Priest; Dr. Aschwin Lippe, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for translations of inscriptions; Cyril Wallace, of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; and Dr. R. E. Fuller and Dr. Sherman E. Lee, of the Seattle Art Museum. I am particularly grateful to Everett P. Lesley, Jr., for his help in the writing of this article.

### NOTES.

<sup>1)</sup> B. M. F. E. A. No. 22 *Chinese Lacquer of the Early 15th Century*.

<sup>2)</sup> The relatively few translations of Chinese records dealing with lacquer, while mentioning various workshops, individual masters and techniques, are of no real help in solving any of the problems. We cannot establish any extant pieces as the products of any recorded workshop or master.

<sup>3)</sup> Due to the fact that this article is considered a continuation of B. M. F. E. A. 22 I have numbered the illustrations accordingly.

<sup>4)</sup> Burlington, p. 171, par. 2.

<sup>5)</sup> Burlington.

<sup>6)</sup> B. M. F. E. A. 22.

<sup>7)</sup> See the clouds in Fig. 47 and the ribbons in Fig. 81.

<sup>8)</sup> B. M. F. E. A. 22, p. 146, Fig. 4.

<sup>9)</sup> B. M. F. E. A. 22, Fig. 19.

<sup>10)</sup> Unfortunately I have no records concerning this photograph. It seems to represent the top of a box or chest.

<sup>11)</sup> B. M. F. E. A. 22, Fig. 35.

<sup>12)</sup> Burlington, p. 171, par. 5.

<sup>13)</sup> A companion piece is in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

<sup>14)</sup> It appears on only three other pieces: on the pendant, Fig. 63; on the bowl, Fig. 71; and on the plate, Fig. 67.

<sup>15)</sup> Mr. Alan Priest and Dr. Aschwin Lippe have very kindly enabled me to make a thorough inspection of this vessel.

<sup>16)</sup> It should be pointed out that the photographic reproduction of inscriptions, especially when these are gold-filled, is quite unreliable. Fig. 65 has been printed with too heavy a contrast.

<sup>17)</sup> Unfortunately I have no notes on the colors, size, etc. of this piece.

<sup>18)</sup> Meaning *long life*, *good salary*, and *happiness*. The carving of this center is a compromise between the *A* and *B* styles.

<sup>19)</sup> I have not seen this piece.

<sup>20)</sup> For another bowl with phoenix motif see Fig. 4, page 34 *The Illustrated London News*, July 4th 1931; also Burlington, Plate II B.

<sup>21)</sup> A pendant piece with a slightly thicker body is in the author's collection.

<sup>22)</sup> The miniature cabinet formerly in the Breuer collection, No. 774 of the catalogue of the Berlin exhibition, January—April 1929, may also belong to this group.

<sup>23)</sup> See also Burlington, page 172, paragraphs 7 and 8.

<sup>24)</sup> Unfortunately the available photographs are not very good. I do not know how much detail will be discernible on the reproductions.

- <sup>25)</sup> B. M. F. E. A. 22, Figs. 24, 25, 16, 17, 18.
- <sup>26)</sup> Unfortunately this photograph shows the decoration of the top upended.
- <sup>27)</sup> The plate reproduced in *«The Illustrated London News»*, July 4th 1931, p. 34, Fig. 3 and in the catalogue of the Berlin exhibition 1929, No. 773 has very similar decoration.
- <sup>28)</sup> B. M. F. E. A. 22, Fig. 19.
- <sup>29)</sup> See also Burlington, Pl. II F, D.
- <sup>30)</sup> It has been reproduced in colors in *«Chinese Lacquer in the Royal Scottish Museum»* by Ian Finlay, *Apollo Miscellany* 1951; also London catalogue No. 1417. In both publications it is dated 1602.
- <sup>31)</sup> The Royal Scottish Museum, dated 1605 A. D., see London catalogue No. 1767; L. Michon, Paris.
- <sup>32)</sup> B. M. F. E. A. 22, Fig. 45.
- <sup>33)</sup> The photograph is not sufficiently clear to distinguish the details.
- <sup>34)</sup> See also London catalogue No. 1405.
- <sup>35)</sup> I am indebted to Miss Sheila Yorke Hardy for these readings and for the description.
- <sup>36)</sup> It was not possible to obtain a photograph of the back of the plate. I saw it thirteen years ago and thought at that time that the poem was an addition, probably done by the Imperial workshop in Ch'ienlung's time.
- <sup>37)</sup> Compare B. M. F. E. A. 22, Figs. 10 and 12.
- <sup>38)</sup> I know of a few more pieces belonging to this group.
- <sup>39)</sup> See Burlington, Pls. I D, II E.
- <sup>40)</sup> Burlington, p. 172, par. 6.
- <sup>41)</sup> *«Materialien»*, p. 216, last paragraph.
- <sup>42)</sup> Much *«Guri»* lacquer was made in Japan and the decoration of such usually red specimens is very much bolder than that of any Chinese example I have seen.
- <sup>43)</sup> This is the box referred to in B. M. F. E. A. 22, p. 164, par. 1.
- <sup>44)</sup> The other piece is in the author's collection.
- <sup>45)</sup> This type of inlay seems to be mentioned in the *Tsung-sheng-pa-chien*. Cf. *«Materialien»*, p. 221, par. 2.
- <sup>46)</sup> B. M. F. E. A. 22, p. 163, par. 3, Fig. 43.
- <sup>47)</sup> Limitations of space have prompted me to concentrate on those pieces from private workshops which I consider to be most characteristic.
- <sup>48)</sup> Hobson, The H. J. Oppenheim collection, Figs. 126, 127; Zimmermann, Pl. 57; Reidemeister, Pls. 30, 36, 51.
- <sup>49)</sup> Hobson, Fig. 189.
- <sup>50)</sup> Reidemeister, Pl. 18.
- <sup>51)</sup> Reidemeister, Pl. 32 (top); Hobson, The H. J. Oppenheim coll. Pl. 11, Fig. 151, The Bloxam coll. Fig. 205, The H. B. Harris coll. Fig. 217.
- <sup>52)</sup> Reidemeister, Pl. 38 (bottom).
- <sup>53)</sup> Reidemeister, Pl. 49 (bottom right).
- <sup>54)</sup> R. L. Hobson, *«The George Eumorfopoulos Collection»*, vol. IV, No. D 111.
- <sup>55)</sup> Edward F. Strange, *«Chinese Lacquers»*, Ernest Benn Ltd., London, 1926.
- <sup>56)</sup> After completing the manuscript, the following three pieces came to my attention. A tray in The Newark Museum (Herman A. E. and Paul C. Jaehne Collections) with the usual Chia-ching mark, has a design similar to the plate, Fig. 59. The tray is carved in alternating layers of red, yellow and black lacquer, with the surface decoration employing red and black. The technique is identical with that of the two square vessels, Figs. 61 and 63, being carved on three distinct levels. A dated (1604 A. D.) Wan-li box in the collection of S. Junkunc III, Chicago, similar to the box, Fig. 99, but much smaller and lacquered light brown, is accented with silver lacquer. The dragons' eyebrows, horns, tail ends, claws, and the spikes of the spines, as well as the pearl and the crests of the waves, are done in this color. I do not recall ever having seen silver lacquer on any piece before. The last piece is a box belonging to the same collection, which should be added to the group of five examples carved in the *«A»* style.

Figs. 119 to 122. It has floral and bird decoration and an apparently genuine Chia-ching mark, cut with a knife and filled in with gold. The calligraphy is very good, and appears at least related to that of the Imperial marks, but without comparative material at hand no precise estimate of its connection with the Imperial workshop could be made. If this piece is Imperial, then the five examples described in the text are Imperial, and it follows that we have an Imperial »A« style coeval with the definitely established »B« style. In contrast to the »B« style group, in which marks and five-clawed dragons are prevalent, the »A« style group contains only one piece with an indubitably authentic mark and, of course, no five-clawed dragons. Thus we are faced with the possibility that the Imperial workshop produced, in Chiaching's reign, objects of a style radically different from the recognized »B« style.

### ABBREVIATIONS.

- B. M. F. E. A. = Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.  
Burlington = F. Low-Beer and O. Maenchen-Helfen, »Carved Red Lacquer of the Ming Period«, Burlington Magazine, October 1936.  
London catalogue = Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art, London, 1935/36.  
Materialien = Otto Maenchen-Helfen, »Materialien zur Geschichte des chinesischen Lacks«, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Nov./Dez. 1937.  
Hobson = R. L. Hobson, C. B., and others, »Chinese Ceramics in Private Collections«, London, 1931.  
Zimmermann = Meisterwerke der Türkischen Museen zu Konstantinopel, Band II, Altchinesische Porzellane im Alten Serai, von Ernst Zimmermann, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930.  
Reidemeister = L. Reidemeister, »Ming Porzellane in Schwedischen Sammlungen«, Berlin and Leipzig, 1935.

### LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, PLATES 1—56.

- Fig. 47. Box, Chia-ching mark and period, diam. 192 mm, height 98 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 48. Reverse of Fig. 47.  
Fig. 49. Top of box or small chest, Chia-ching period.  
Fig. 50. Box, Chia-ching mark and period, diam. 182 mm, height 85 mm, collection of Mr. Carl Kempe, Stockholm.  
Fig. 51. Side view of Fig. 50.  
Fig. 52. Mark of Figs. 50, 51.  
Fig. 53. } Cylindrical vessel, Chia-ching mark and period, diam. 113 mm,  
Fig. 54. } height 260 mm, courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Fig. 55. Mark of Figs. 53, 54.  
Fig. 56. Tray, Chia-ching mark and period, length 255 mm, courtesy Fogg Museum of Art, gift of C. Adrian Rubel, Cambridge, Mass.  
Fig. 57. Side view of Fig. 56.  
Fig. 58. Mark of Figs. 56, 57.  
Fig. 59. Plate, Chia-ching mark and period, diam. 235 mm, courtesy The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.  
Fig. 60. Mark of Fig. 59.  
Fig. 61. Square vessel (rice measure?), Chia-ching mark and period, length and width 324 mm, courtesy The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.  
Fig. 62. Mark of Fig. 61.  
Fig. 63. Square vessel (rice measure?), Chia-ching mark and period, length and width 319 mm, height 163 mm, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Fig. 64. Detail of Fig. 63.

- Fig. 65. Mark of Fig. 63.  
Fig. 66. Chest, Chia-ching mark and period, photograph courtesy Mr. C. T. Loo.  
Fig. 67. Plate, Chia-ching mark and period, diam. 181 mm, photograph courtesy Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.  
Fig. 68. Box, Chia-ching mark and period, photograph courtesy Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.  
Fig. 69. Tray, Chia-ching mark and period, length 177 mm, width 175 mm, courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.  
Fig. 70. Mark of Fig. 69.  
Fig. 71. Bowl, Chia-ching mark and period, diam. 100 mm, height 50 mm, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Fig. 72. Mark of Fig. 71.  
Fig. 73. Box, Chia-ching mark and period, diam. 305 mm, height 160 mm, collection of Mr. Carl Kempe, Stockholm.  
Fig. 74. Side view of Fig. 73.  
Fig. 75. Mark of Figs. 73, 74.  
Fig. 76. Plate, Chia-ching mark and period, diam. 167 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 77. Reverse of Fig. 76.  
Fig. 78. Box, Lung-ch'ing mark and period, length 259 mm, width 167 mm, height 133 mm, courtesy the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, The University, Birmingham.  
Fig. 79. Side view of Fig. 78.  
Fig. 80. Mark of Figs. 78, 79.  
Fig. 81. Box, Chia-ching mark and period, length 375 mm, width 325 mm, height 119 mm, photograph courtesy Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.  
Fig. 82. Plate, Chia-ching mark and period, diam. 167 mm, courtesy Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington.  
Fig. 83. Reverse of Fig. 82.  
Fig. 84. Box, Wan-li mark and period, diam. 312 mm, height 131 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 85. Cabinet dated 1585 A. D., rear and side view, length 410 mm, width 320 mm, height 380 mm, photograph courtesy Mlle. Densmore, Paris.  
Fig. 86. Front view of Fig. 85.  
Fig. 87. Bowl dated 1586 A. D., diam. 127 mm, height 70 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 88. Reverse of Fig. 87.  
Fig. 89. Box dated 1592, length 263 mm, width 163 mm, height 88 mm, photograph courtesy Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.  
Fig. 90. Mark of Fig. 89.  
Fig. 91. Plate dated 1592 A. D., diam. 382 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 92. Mark of Fig. 91.  
Fig. 93. Box dated 1595 A. D., diam. 200 mm, height 100 mm, collection of Mr. Richard B. Hobart, Cambridge, Massachusetts.  
Fig. 94. Plate, Wan-li period, diam. 163 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 95. Plate dated 1587 A. D., diam. 255 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 96. Mark of Fig. 95.  
Fig. 97. Brush-holder dated 1601 A. D., diam. 260 mm, height 229 mm, courtesy The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.  
Fig. 98. Mark of Fig. 97.  
Fig. 99. Box dated 1619, A. D., length and width 344 mm, height 115 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 100. Mark of Fig. 99.  
Fig. 101. Cabinet, Wan-li mark and period, width 1430 mm, depth 640 mm, height 2160 mm, courtesy Herbig-Haarhaus A. G., Cologne.  
Fig. 102. Detail of Fig. 101.  
Fig. 103. Rear view of Fig. 101.

- Fig. 104. Mark of Figs. 101, 103.  
Fig. 105. Cabinet, Wan-li mark and period, width 590 mm, height 1600 mm, photographs courtesy M. Theodore Culty, Paris.  
Fig. 106. Rear view of Fig. 105.  
Fig. 107. Box, Wan-li mark and period, diam. 213 mm, height 113 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 108. Mark of Fig. 107.  
Fig. 109. Plate dated 1489 A. D., diam. 188 mm, courtesy Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, London.  
Fig. 110. Box, probably Hung-chih period, diam. 222 mm, height 150 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 111. Box, probably 16th century, diam. 287 mm, height 214 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 112. Top of Fig. 111.  
Fig. 113. Box, probably 16th century, diam. 287 mm, height 90 mm, courtesy Herbig-Haarhaus A. G., Cologne.  
Fig. 114. Tray, probably 16th century, length and width 170 mm, courtesy Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington.  
Fig. 115. Box, probably 16th century, diam. 275 mm, height 95 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 116. Stem-cup, probably 16th century, diam. 156 mm, height 100 mm, photograph courtesy Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.  
Fig. 117. Bowl and stand, probably 16th century, bowl: diam. 210 mm, height 100 mm, stand: diam. 191 mm, height 90 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 118. Box, probably 16th century, length 143 mm, width 115 mm, height 70 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 119. Stem-cup, probably late 16th century, diam. 120 mm, height 113 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 120. Panel, probably 16th century, length 262 mm, width 188 mm, photograph courtesy Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.  
Fig. 121. Bowl, probably 16th century, diam. 182 mm, height 89 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 122. Cup, probably 16th century, length 110 mm, height 50 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 123. Box, probably Wan-li period, diam. 337 mm, height 170 mm, courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
Fig. 124. Side view of Fig. 123.  
Fig. 125. Plate, probably Wan-li period, diam. 169 mm, author's collection.  
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Fig. 127. Box, probably Wan-li period, diam. 172 mm, height 42 mm, author's collection.  
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Fig. 129. Box, probably 16th century, length 182 mm, width 123 mm, height 80 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 130. Bowl, probably Chia-ching period, diam. 118 mm, height 66 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 131. Box dated 1580 A. D., length 707, width 177 mm, height 105 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 132. Detail of side of Fig. 131.  
Fig. 133. Inscription of Fig. 131.  
Fig. 134. Covered tray, probably Wan-li period, length 308 mm, width 183 mm, height 133 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 135. Box, probably Wan-li period, length 138 mm, width 113 mm, height 190 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 136. Double-chest, probably Wan-li period, width 1410 mm, depth 640 mm, height 2750 mm, photograph courtesy L. Wannick, Paris.  
Fig. 137. Box dated 1633 A. D., length 413 mm, width 210 mm, height 91 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 138. Inscription of Fig. 137.  
Fig. 139. Covered tray dated 1634 A. D., length 267 mm, width 182 mm, height 100 mm, author's collection.  
Fig. 140. Box, probably late 16th century, diam. 185 mm, height 75 mm, author's collection.













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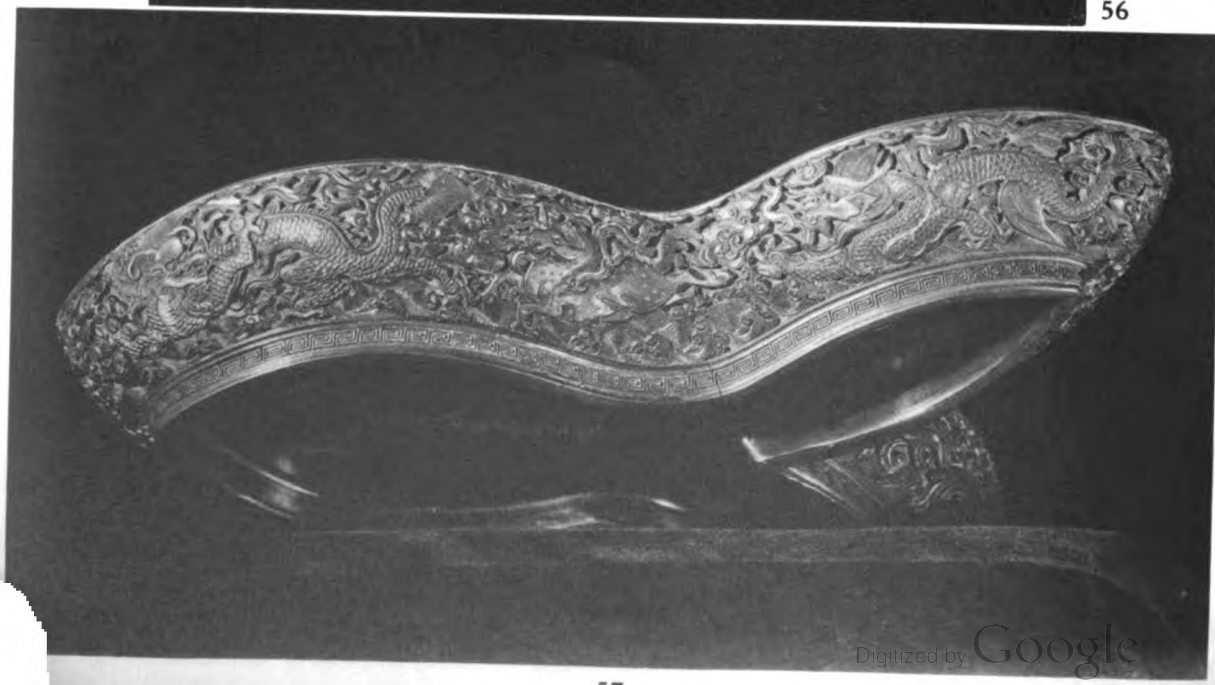


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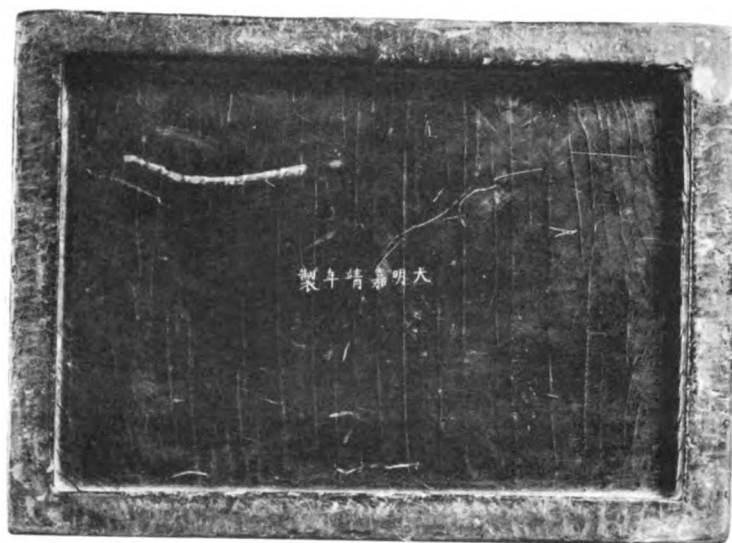




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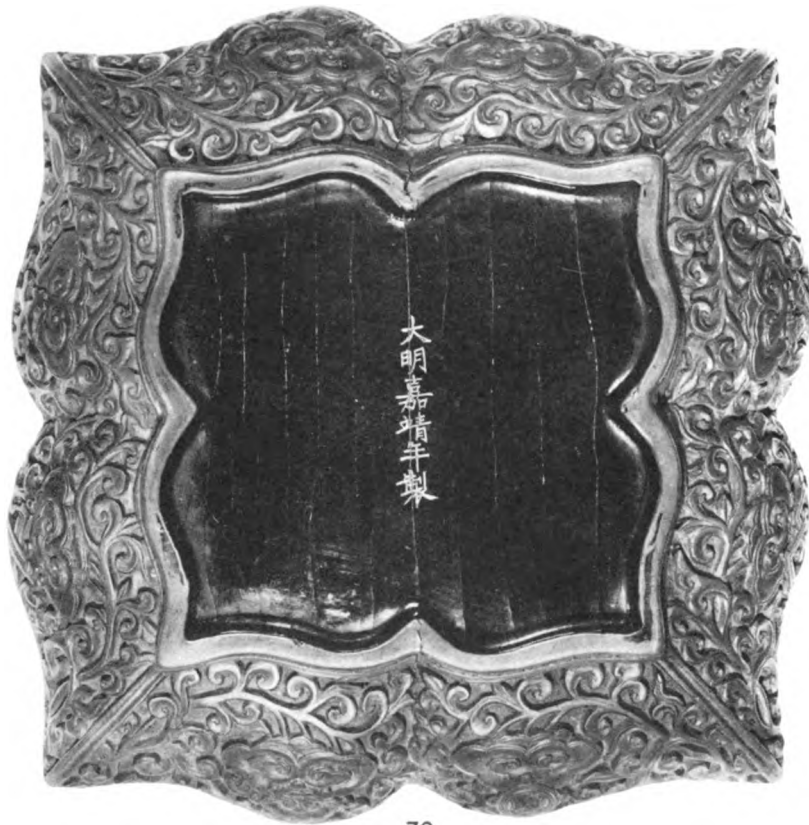
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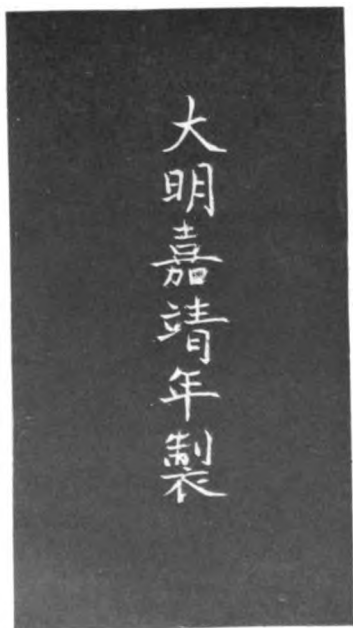
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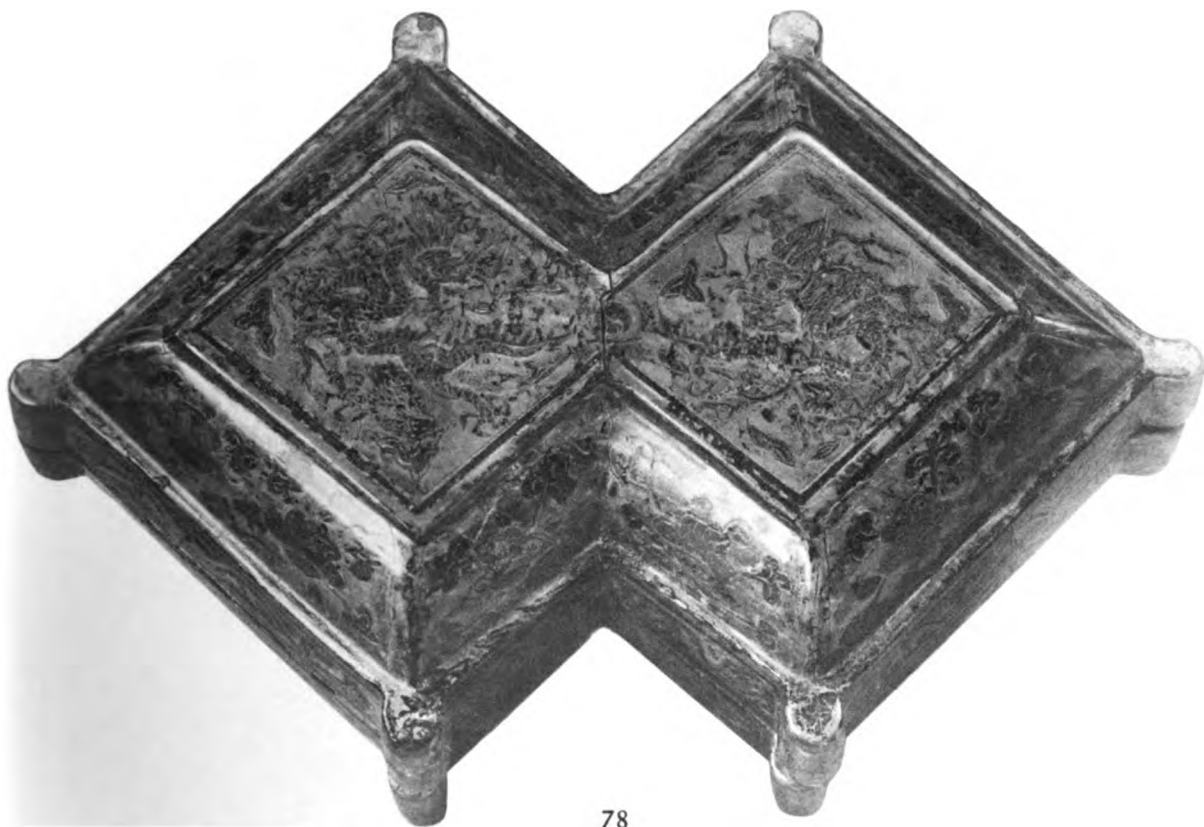


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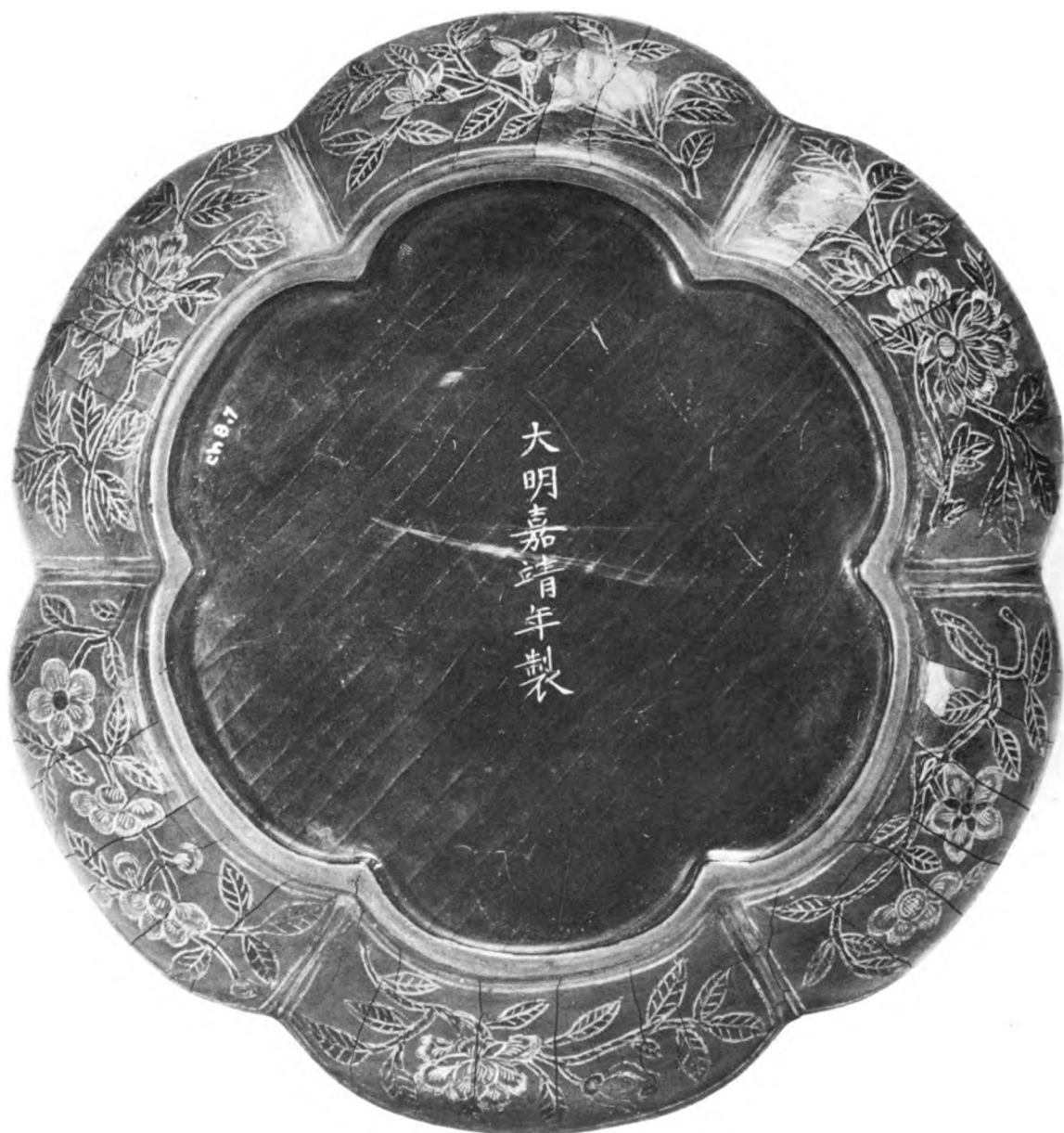


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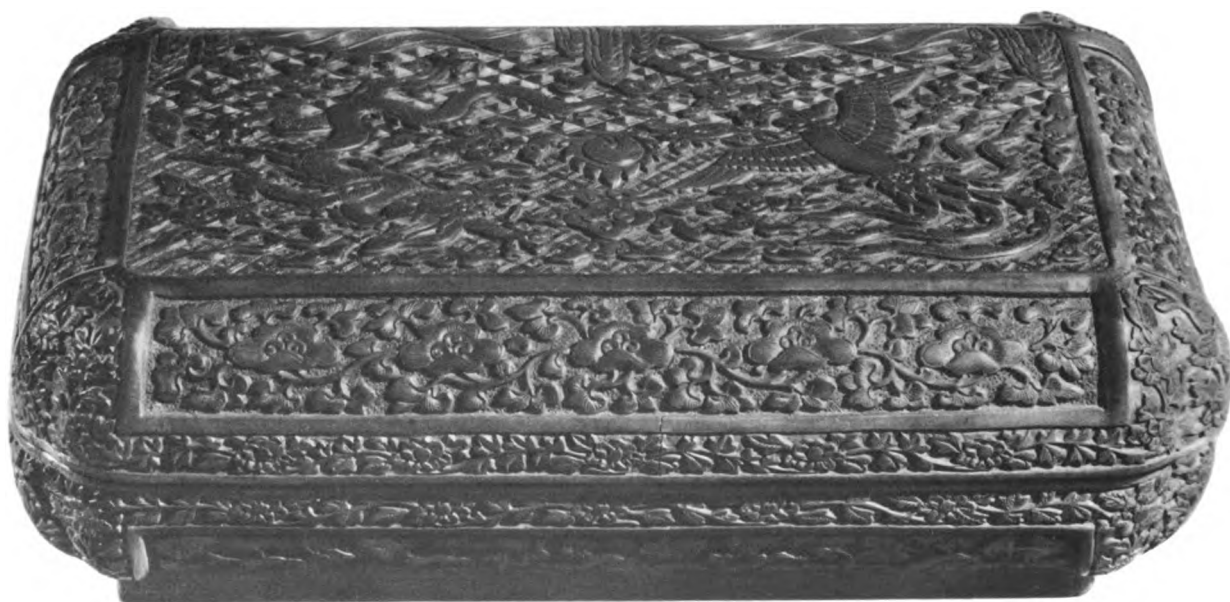








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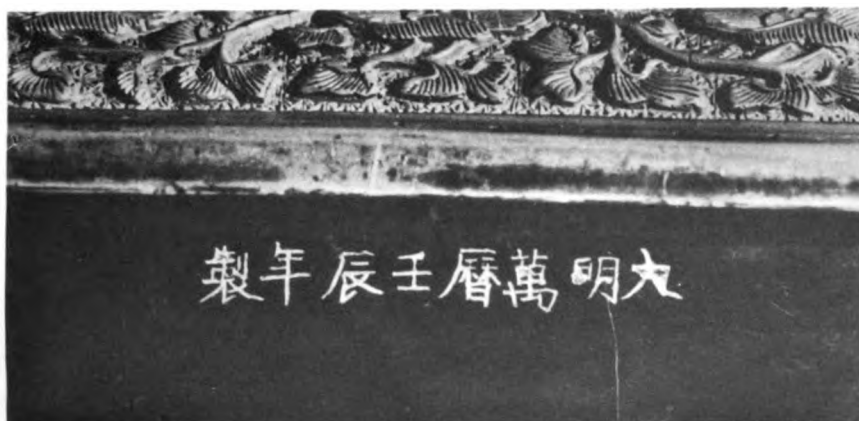




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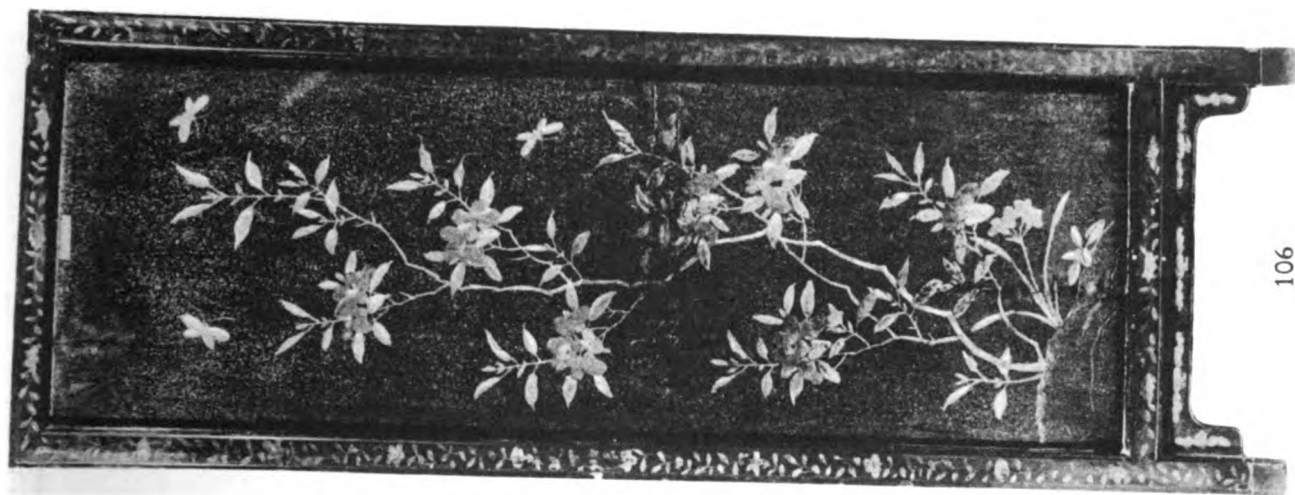


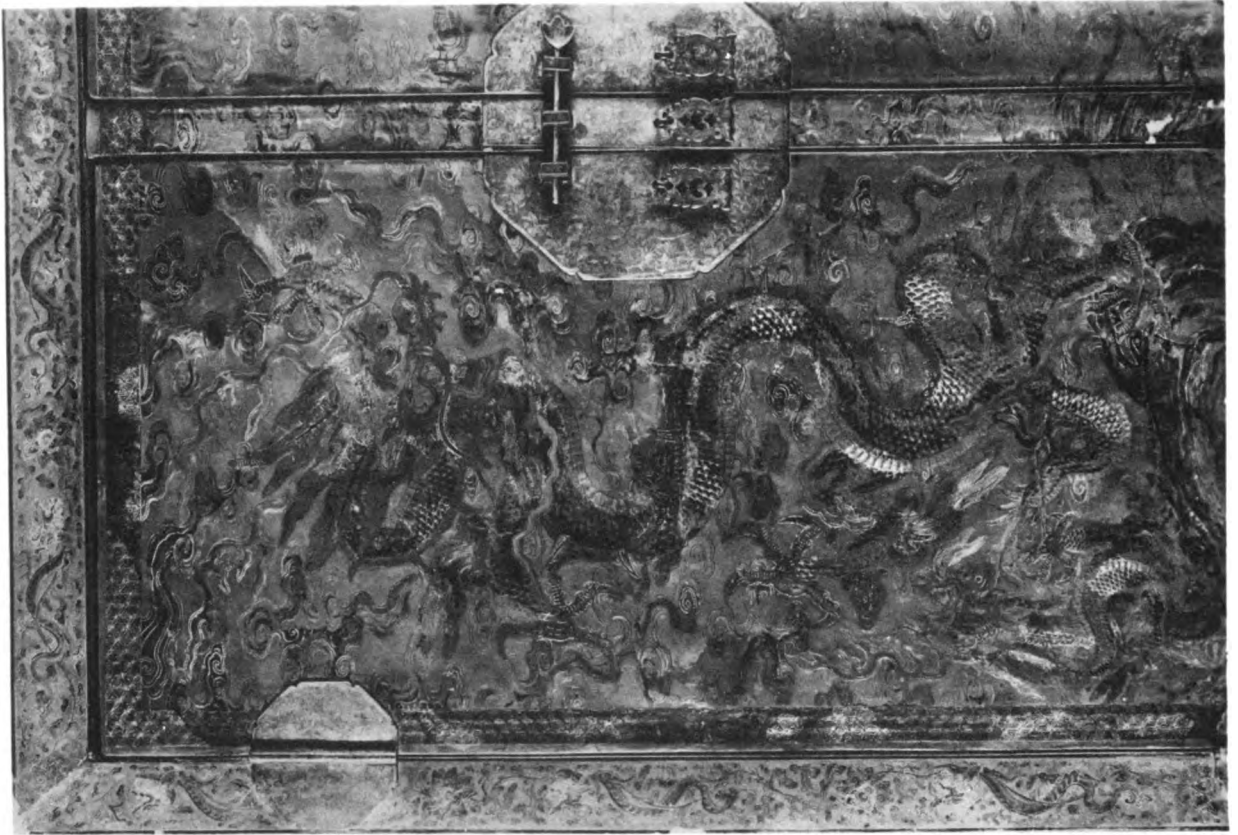
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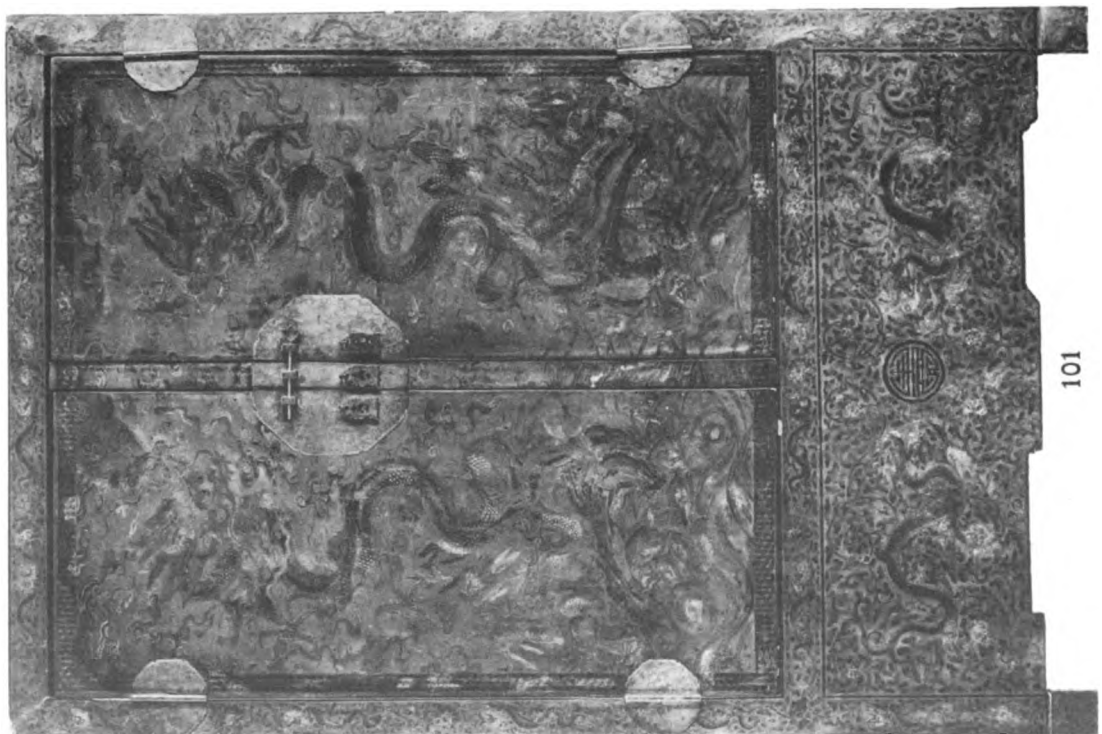
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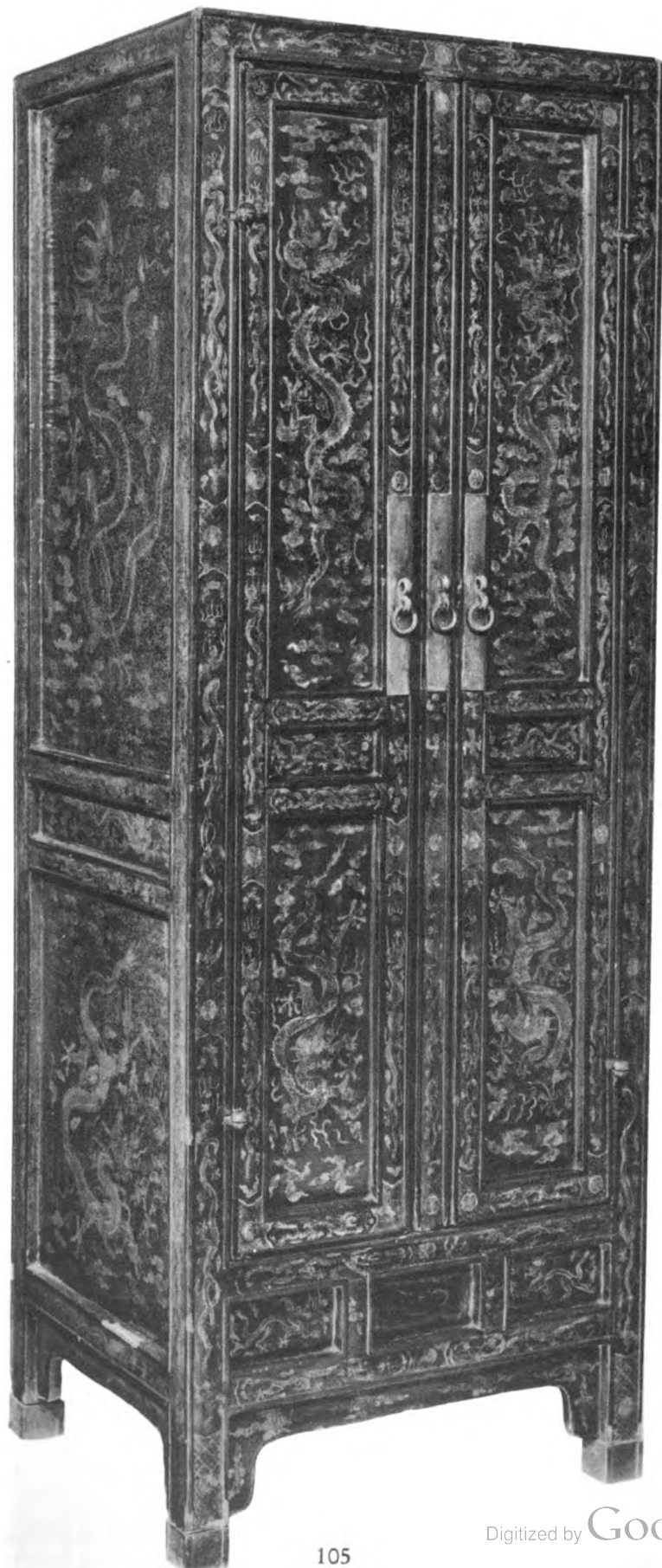
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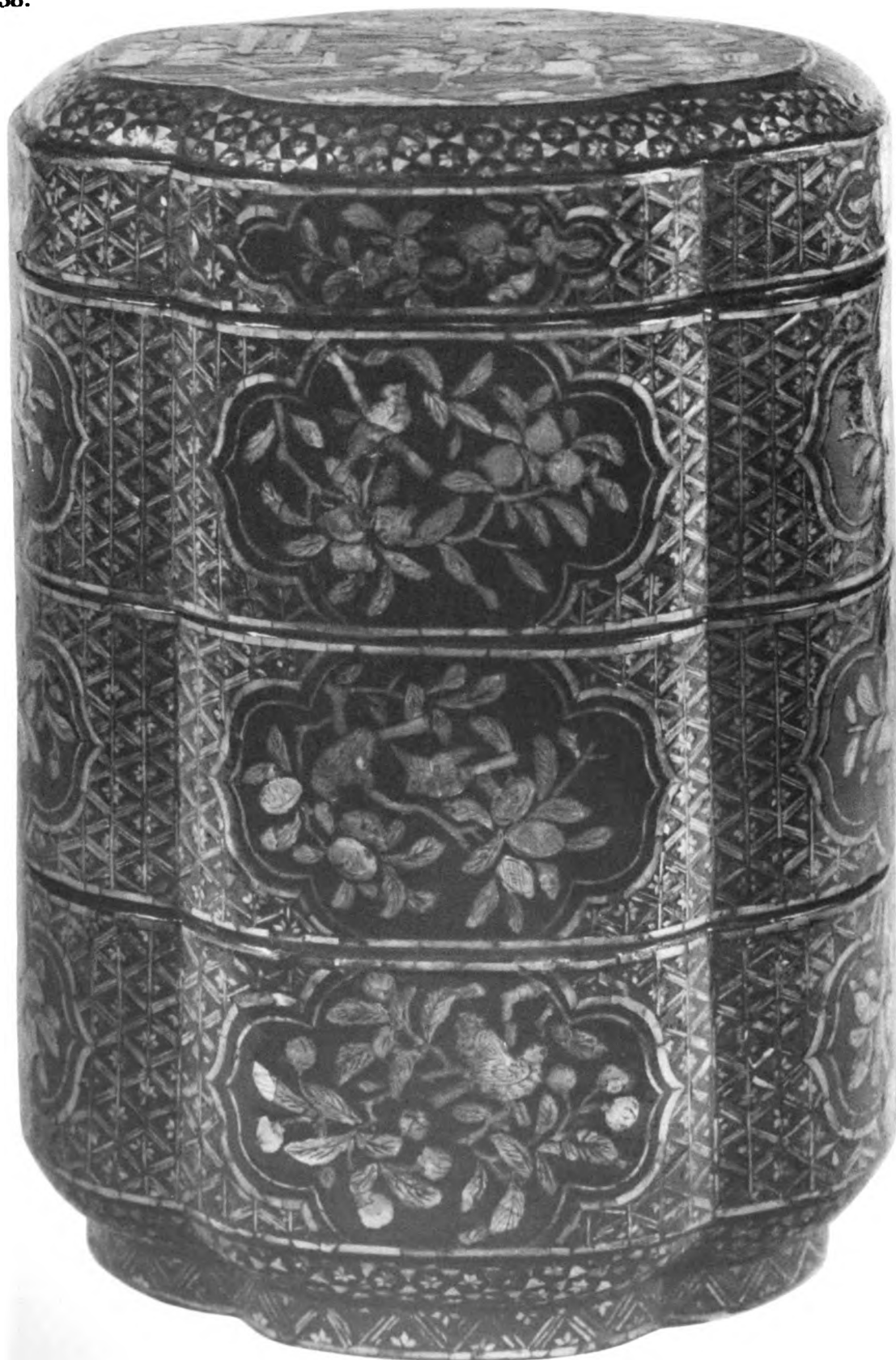


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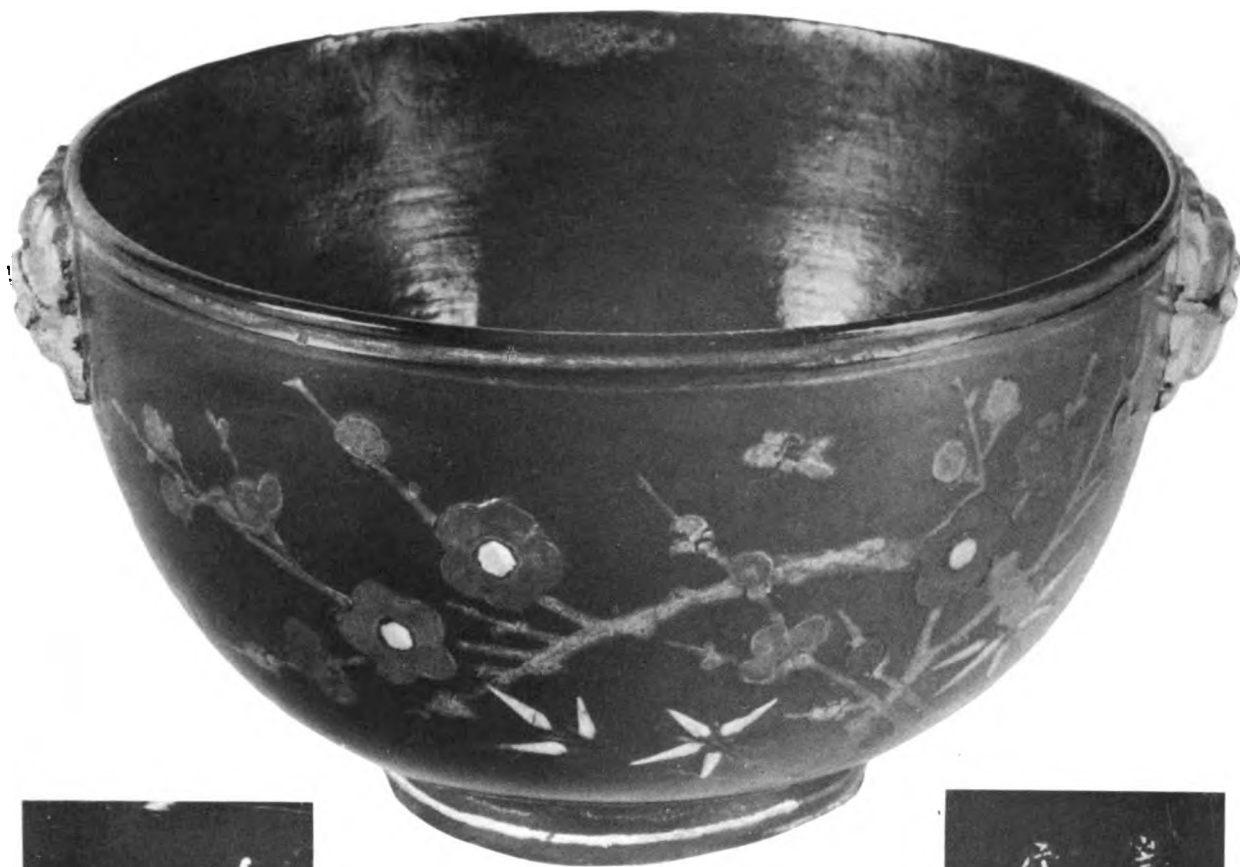
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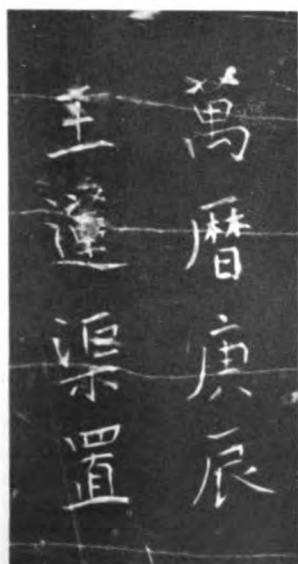
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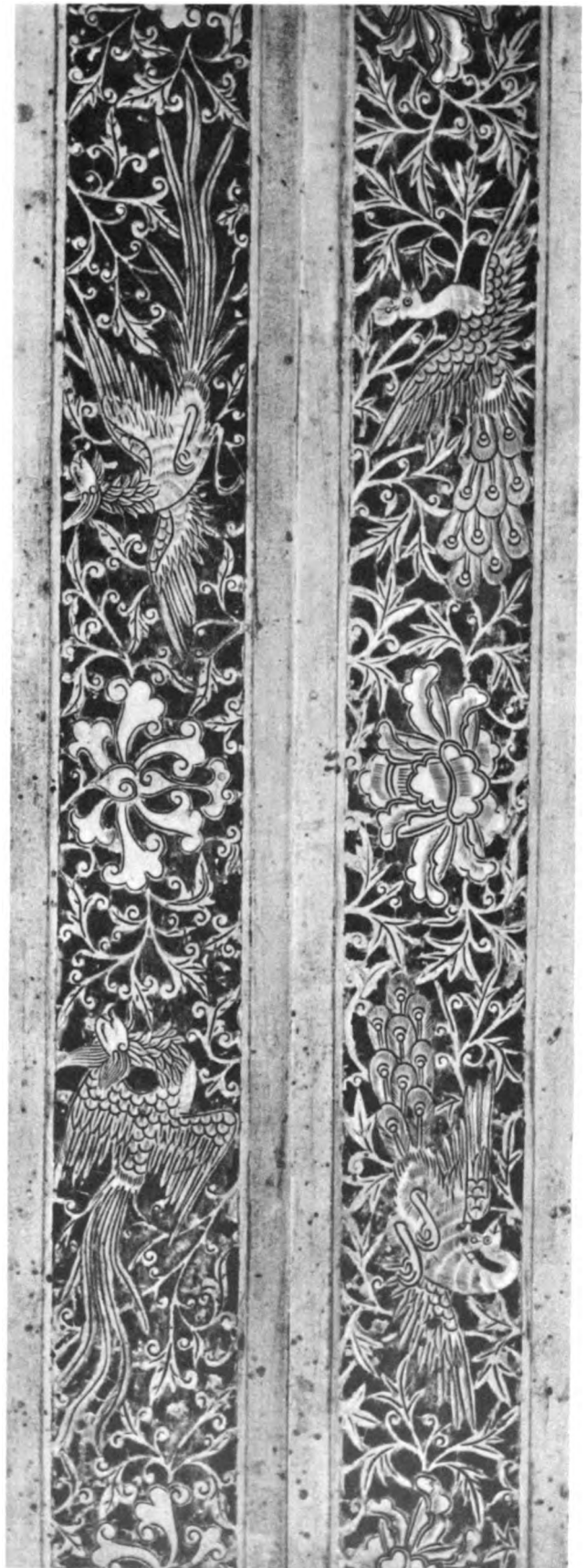


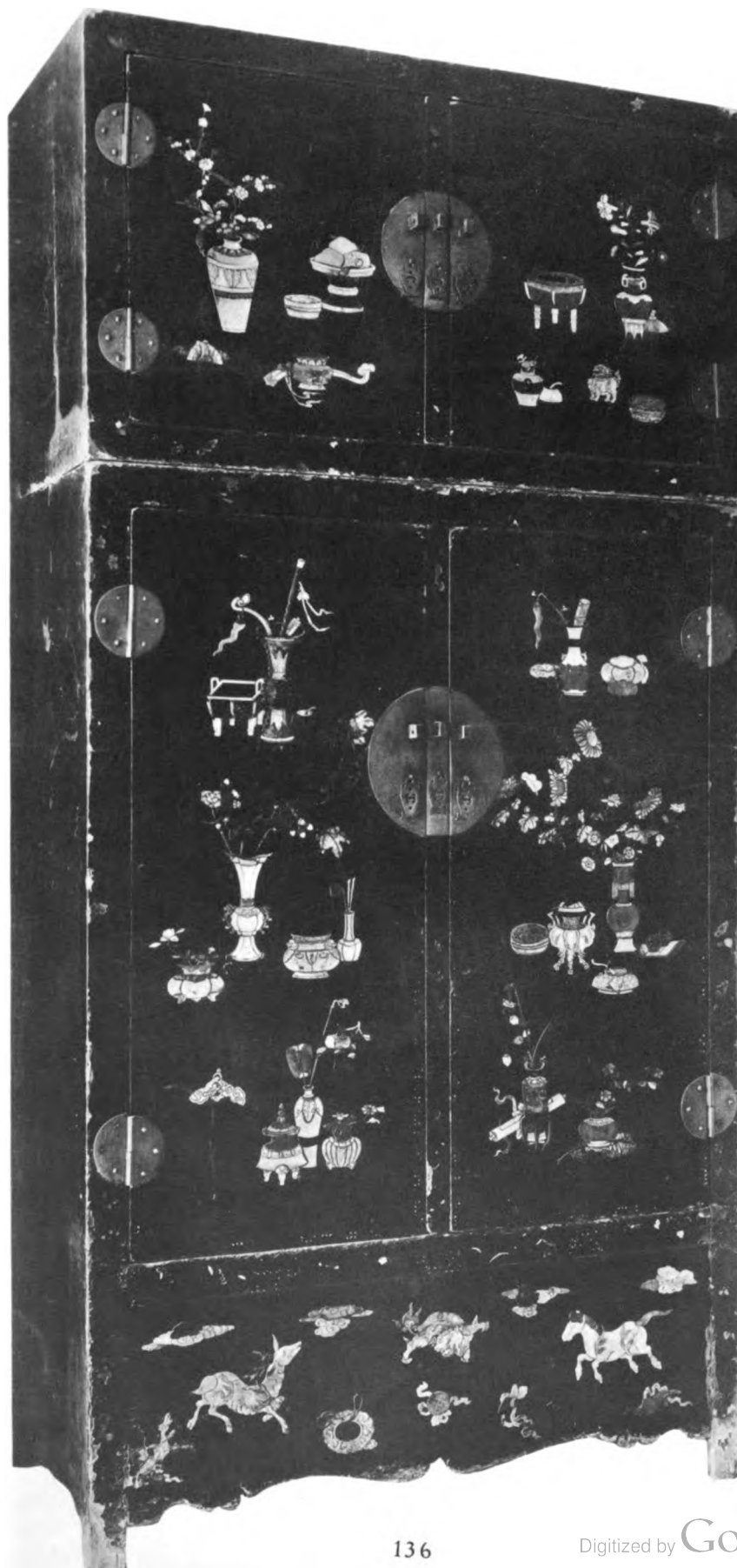
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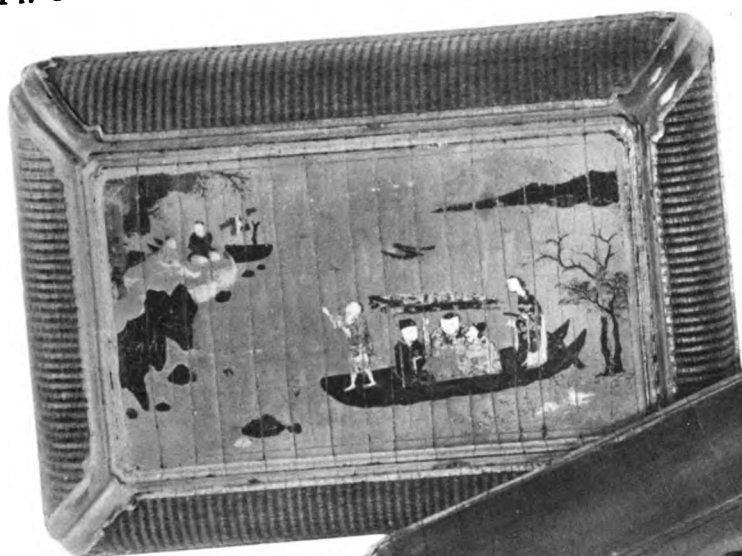
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# NEW EXCURSIONS IN CHINESE GRAMMAR

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

The most prominent of the *siao shuo* novels in *pai hua* from the Ming and Ts'ing eras have been the subject of a lively and learned discussion in recent decades. Works such as *Shuei hu chuan* and *Hung lou meng* have been examined from the point of view of the text version extant or traceable and of the alleged authors and their biographical data. Still, in spite of the great acumen and learning applied by scholars like Hu Shī and Lu Sin, it must be conceded that we still know exceedingly little about these subjects. Owing to the scarcity of reliable evidence, their researches have largely had the character of hypotheses based on hypotheses, piled like Pelion on Ossa, and, in view of their eminent knowledge of all the available materials, we have to resign ourselves to the conviction that we shall probably never arrive at more conclusive results than those achieved by the said brilliant scholars and their confrères.

In the present article a few of the most famous novels will be examined from a totally different point of view: the language in which they are written; or rather, the colloquial Mandarin which they reveal.

There has, in fact, been a very marked effort on the part of the authors of the texts discussed below to write in *pai hua*, and not in the *wen hua* literary language. This effort has been particularly strong in the dialogues and less pronounced in the narrative parts. In the former, an astoundingly vivid and true-to-life style has been achieved, and the utterances teem with extreme colloquialisms and even *t'u hua* vulgarisms. It is evident that the writers intended that their dialogues should very faithfully depict the everyday speech of their characters,<sup>1)</sup> and it is interesting to observe that in this respect the Chinese authors have anticipated the radicalism of our modern Western writers by many centuries.

In our present investigation, therefore, we shall limit ourselves to the dialogues and take no account of the narrative parts; in other words, we shall examine what kind of colloquial the writer has made his characters speak. Even with this limita-

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<sup>1)</sup> Obviously, there are also passages in which emperors, dignitaries or generally highly cultured gentlemen discourse in a high-styled semi-literary language; but these can easily be set aside and disregarded.



tion, the material will be exceedingly extensive, since the dialogues occupy a very large part of the texts.

The works to be examined are few: only five, and they have to be considered merely as samples. A more comprehensive investigation of the language of the Ming and Ts'ing *siao shuo* literature will be an enormous task for scores of investigators.

These five novels have been selected here because they have been generally praised — particularly by the protagonists of the »pai hua movement« — as marvellous literary masterpieces. Their literary value, however, has been greatly exaggerated. The famous *Shuei hu chuan*, for instance, shows no attempt whatsoever at composition; nor are its characters in any way defined, varied or individualized: the heroes are a few score brawling bullies as alike as the ants in an anthill. But ethnographically, as a highly picturesque and concrete description of Chinese life, it is of immense value and interest, and to the linguist the long text is of paramount importance.

I. *Shuei hu chuan* (henceforth abbreviated: *Shueihu*). Quite a large number of different versions of this work, some more or less abridged, are known to have existed, though few have survived. Among the latter there are two principal ones. One of them, in 120 chapters, is the most comprehensive of all, and can safely be dated in the last decades of the Ming era (circa 1630 A. D.). It has recently been reprinted by the Commercial Press in the series *Kuo hüe ki pen ts'ung shu*. The second (and best known) is the edition made by *Kin*<sup>167</sup> *Sheng*-128 *t'an*-76, which contained only the first 71 chapters of the former (numbered I + 70), minus certain interspersed passages in rhythmical literary prose or in verse. This was reprinted in a punctuated edition by *Wang*<sup>85</sup> *Yüan*; <sup>27</sup> *jang*-66 through the Oriental Book Company (1920, 10th impression 1928). *Kin* lived from circa 1610 to 1661 and certainly knew of a more extensive version (not necessarily identical, in all parts, with the one mentioned above), for a contemporary of his, *Chou*<sup>30</sup> *Liang*-8 *Kung*<sup>47</sup>, tells us that whereas some attributed the whole *Shueihu* to a man of the Yüan dynasty named *Shi*<sup>70</sup> *Nai*-126 *an*<sup>40</sup> and others to *Lo*<sup>122</sup> *Kuan*-154 *chung*<sup>2</sup> of the Hung-wu era (1368—1398) (these two traditions had already been mentioned by *Lang*<sup>53</sup> *Ying*<sup>96</sup> of the Ming dynasty), *Kin* had attributed the first 71 chapters to *Shi*, and the rest to *Lo* and had found the latter part so poor that he rejected it. Nothing is known about *Shi Nai-an*, and very little about *Lo Kuan-chung*, and the authorship of the *Shueihu* remains unknown. Even the question remains open whether the first section, chapters 1—71 of the comprehensive late Ming version of the Commercial Press (which thus corresponds to the *Kin Sheng-t'an* edition and *Wang's* reprint) which we shall call here the *Shueihu A*, and the second section, chapters 72—120 of the said Ming version, here called *Shueihu B*, really belong together. If they do, they are written by one author in accordance with the Ming tradition (as illustrated by the achievement of the late Ming version in 120 chapters, and as still accepted by some modern

authors); if they do not, the Shueihu B (or at least its major part), rejected by Kin Sheng-t'an, was written by another author (or other authors) than A and has falsely been adjoined to the Shueihu A at some time during the Ming dynasty (many modern authors share this opinion). We shall investigate this important question by means of linguistic criteria.<sup>1)</sup>

II. Si yu ki (henceforth abbreviated: Siyu). It is fairly well proved that this work was written by *Wu;30 Ch'eng;64 en61* who became a licentiate in the middle of the Kia-tsing era (1522—1566). We quote it after a punctuated edition by Wang Yüan-fang, printed by the Oriental Book Company (1921, 6th impression 1929). Wang based himself on a fine wood-cut edition of K'ien-lung time, and verified its readings by reference to a number of other important prints.

III. Hung lou meng (henceforth abbreviated: Hunglou). Here again, we have to distinguish between chapters 1—80, here called Hunglou A, and chapters 81—120, here called Hunglou B. It is reasonably well attested that A was written (or at least re-written, cf. Kao's preface to the edition mentioned below) by *Ts'ao;73 Chan173*, alias *Ts'ao;73 Suet173 k'in;140* (d. 1763). During the decades immediately succeeding his death it was spread in many manuscript copies; one of them was redacted by *Ts'ik62 Liao;140 sheng100* (kin-shi in 1769) and was recently printed (Yu cheng shu kü, Shanghai). In 1791 *Ch'eng;135 Wei;9 yüan;10* and *Kao189 Ok196* prepared and in 1792 printed an edition consisting of both Hunglou A and Hunglou B, the latter described as being pieced together from a large number of fragments of the «original work» unearthed through years of diligent search. The chapters 1—80 of their print agree very closely with the version of Hunglou A redacted by Ts'i, as mentioned above. Their edition formed the basis of a standard edition printed in 1832, and of various later prints. In 1927 the Oriental Book Company again published it in a print excellently punctuated by Wang Yüan-fang. In our quotations here we shall refer to this edition of Wang's. Later in 1792 Ch'eng Wei-yüan and Kao Ok again printed a new version, containing the same 120 chapters (again reprinted in a punctuated edition of Wang Yüan-fang's by the Oriental Book Company), now with a considerable number of major and minor «amendments»: both additions of whole passages, and alterations of binomes and auxiliaries. These modifications concern both the Hunglou A section and the Hunglou B section, somewhat more frequent in the former (15.537 different characters including additions in the former 80 chapters, and 5967 in the latter 40 chapters). Hu Shi has tried to prove that Kao Ok himself wrote the Hunglou B and falsely passed it on as a part of the original. This thesis has been so generally accepted as to become a handbook doctrine. We shall examine the question from a linguistic point of view.

<sup>1)</sup> The Shueihu A will here be quoted after the above-mentioned print of Wang Yüan-kao, and the numbering of the chapters (I+70) will follow his; thus a quotation «60: 2» (chapter 60, p. 2) will correspond to «61: 2» in the Commercial Press print, since this includes the I (*siet75 ts'i* «preface») in the numbering, which Wang's does not. The Shueihu B will be quoted after the Commercial Press print.

IV. Ju lin wai shī (henceforth abbreviated: Julin). This novel was written by Wu;30 King-66 tsī:75, a man from An-huei who lived 1701—1754. We shall quote it from an edition with modern punctuation published by the K'i chī shu kü, Shanghai (1930).

V. King hua yüan (henceforth abbreviated: Kinghua). This was written by Li:75 Ju:85 chen96, a man from the neighbourhood (Ta-hing) of Peking, who lived from circa 1763 to 1830. We shall quote it from an edition by the Oriental Book Company (1923, 5th impression 1928) with modern punctuation prepared by Chang117 Hi50 lü:30.

When we proceed to examine the *pai hua*, colloquial Mandarin, prevailing in the dialogues of these five novels, a great number of colloquial features which are common to all of them as well as to modern Mandarin (particularly as represented by Pekinese) will be entirely disregarded; they are easily recognized by every student who knows the modern language. These are features such as the common classifiers *ko-9* etc. (*liang:11 ko-9 jen9* »two men«), the genitive and general attributive particle *tik* (*wo:62 tik kia40* »my house«), the personal pronouns *ni:9* »you« and *t'a9* »he«, the auxiliary for perfective aspect *liao* (*k'ü-28 liao* »he is gone«), the auxiliary for past tense *kuo-162* (*k'ü-28 kuo-162* »he has, in the past, gone«), the auxiliaries for anteposed object *pa:64* and *tsiang41* (*wo:62 pa:64 t'a9 shat79 liao* »I have killed him«), the copula *shī* (*t'a9 shī muk75 tsiang22* »he is a carpenter«), the auxiliary for future tense *yao* (*t'a9 yao k'ü-28* »he will go«), the auxiliary *pei-145* for the agent and for the passive voice (*wo:62 pei-145 t'a9 ta:64 liao* »I was beaten by him«; *wo:62 pei-145 ta:64 liao* »I was beaten«), the auxiliary for inchoative *k'i:156 lai9* (*siao-118 k'i:156 lai9 liao* »he began to laugh«), the auxiliary *tek* (*t'a9 tsou:156 tek k'uai-61* »he walks fast«), the auxiliary *chok* (*t'a tsai wai-36 pien162 teng:118 chok* »he is waiting outside«), the auxiliary *tsiu* 'then, thereupon' (*ni:9 shuot149 tsiu hao:38 liao* »you tell me and then it will be all right«), the demonstrative pronouns *che-162* and *na-163* (*che-162 ko-9 jen9* »this man«), the interrogative pronoun and indefinite pronoun *shenmo* (*yu shenmo jen9* »there is which man« and »there is some man«; *na-163 shī shenmo* »what is that«), the interrogative and indefinite *ki:52* and *to36 shao:42* (*ki:52 ko-9 jen9* »how many men« and »some men«; *to36 shao:42 jen9* id.), the combined pre- and post-positions (*tsai kia40 li:145* »in the house«), the indefinite plural particle *sie7* (*che-162 sie7 jen9* »these men«), the adversative particle *k'üek26* (*t'a9 k'üek26 put sin-9* »but he did not believe it«), the construction *k'an-109 yit1 k'an-109* »take a look«, the preposition *na64* (*na64 pit118 sie:40* »write with a pencil«), adverbs like *huan:162* (*hai:162*) and *ye:5* (*t'a9 hai:162 meit yu lai9* »he has still not come«; *wo:62 ye lai9 liao* »I also came«), the final imperative particle *pa-122* (*ni:9 k'ü-28 pa-122* »go!«). And many others.

Passing over these many *communia bona* we shall concentrate upon a number of criteria of distinctive value.<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> As in the article: Excursions in Chinese Grammar, BMFEA 23, 1951, we shall use the following frequency symbols: 0 means a total absence of the element in question or its occurrence only in a very

There are, in principle, as everybody knows, two kinds of interrogative clauses:

a) Confirmatory questions (Germ. Bestätigungsfragen), formula  $a = ? b$ , i. e. questions to be answered by yes or no, in English expressed simply by inversion of the word sequence: »Will he come?» (cf. »he will come«).

b) Complementary questions (Germ. Ausfüllungsfragen), formula  $a = x$ , i. e. questions containing an interrogative pronoun or adverb (who, which, how, why, when etc.). The unknown quantity has, in the answer, to be supplied, e. g. »who comes?» (Answer: »Mr. Jones«). Though the interrogation is already indicated by the pronoun or adverb just mentioned, and a direct word sequence would therefore be sufficient: (»he will come when?»), in English there is generally an inversion as well (»when will he come?»).

In Mandarin, the confirmatory questions (a above) may be expressed in several ways. One of them is to have a direct word sequence with a final interrogative particle *ma* or *mo*: »*ni:9 lai9 ma (mo)* »will he come?» (»yes« or »no«). »*Ni:9 put chi111 tao-162 ma (mo)* »Do you not know (it)?«. This mode of expressing the  $a = ? b$  question is exceedingly common, not only in modern Mandarin but also in all the five novels to be examined, and will therefore be left out of our discussion. Two other modes, however, will furnish our first important items.

1. The auxiliary *k'o* 可 may be employed for expressing a confirmatory question, e. g. »*ni:9 k'o put chi111 tao-162* »do you not know it?« This construction is now obsolete in Peking Mandarin, and only some stereotyped vestiges of it remain *k'o put shi* »is it not so?« = »certainly«. But in our novel samples it is of distinctive importance:

A. In Shueihu A there are only a very few sporadic cases (altogether 5), e. g. 1: 18 (*k'o chi111 shu159 liao* »do you recognize that you have lost?«). Thus we mark this 0.

B. In Shueihu B this feature is likewise lacking, mark 0.

C. Siyu has a fair number of instances (many of them in combination with the final interrogative *mo*), e. g. 14: 18 *ni:9 tsai-13 k'o wu li:113 liao* »do you again have no politeness?»; 2: 9 *k'o tu163 hui-73 mo* »do you understand (know) them all?«. Other examples 2: 10, 3: 8, 8: 11, 12: 4 etc. The frequency is not so high, however, as to allow more than mark 1.

D. In Julin our *k'o* is more frequent, without being very common, e. g. 3: 49 *p'ing;51 jit72 k'o yu tsuei-73 p'a-61 tik jen9* »does he ordinarily have some man whom he fears very much?»; 4: 63 *k'o ts'eng;73 ting-40 yu jit72 k'i;74* »has there been determined a fixed time?»; 8: 132 *k'o yüü tsuk157 hia-1 yit1 kia40* »is he of the same family as you?»; 10: 160 *k'o ts'eng;73 tao-18* »has it arrived?»; 12: 194 *k'ok40 jen9 k'o jen-149 tek* »do you, my guest, know him?«. We might hesitate between

few, sporadic cases; 1 means a very sparing use of the element, barely sufficient to warrant its being acknowledged as an allowed feature in the language of the text examined; 2 means a regular use of the element, either only fairly frequent, sufficient to qualify it as a normal feature, or very common, or indeed exceedingly common (hundreds of cases).

marks 1 and 2, but conclude that the instances are really sufficient to warrant mark 2.

E. In Hunglou A the *k'o* construction is extremely common, e. g. 2: 11 *ni:9 k'o ch'i111 tao-162* »do you know it?»; 2: 14 *k'o ch'i111 wo:62 yen;149 put miu:149* »do you know that my words are not mistaken?»; 3: 8 *k'o pan64 tsin-162 lai9 liao* »has it [the luggage] been carried in?»; 6: 6 *k'o tsai kia40 mo* »is he at home?»; 7: 4 *k'o put tsiu sh'i t'a9* »is it not he?»; 7: 16 *wo:62 men9 tik ch'e159 k'o ts'i;210 pei-9 liao* »are our carriages complete in number?»; 8:3 *tsie:38 tsie:38 k'o ta-37 an40 liao* »are you, my sister, greatly comfortable?»; etc. There are hundreds of instances, and we can give mark 2.

F. Hunglou B likewise has numerous instances e. g. 81: 16 *ju38 kin9 k'o ta-38 hao:38 liao* »are you now quite well?»; 83:5 *shen158 shang-1 k'o hao:38* »are you well in your body?»; 86:7 *k'o yu-29 lai9* »have you come again?»; 87:6 *pan-64 sie7 ma200 yu;85 ts'u-164 k'o hao:38 mo* »is it all right to mix some hemp oil and vinegar?»; etc. Here again mark 2.

G. Kinghua employs this *k'o*, e. g. 5:4 *k'o tu162 hiao:72 tek mo* »do you know it all?»; 14: 1 *li:145 mien-176 k'o yu seng9 jen9* »are there any monks inside?»; 14:8 *ts'i sh'i-6 k'o k'uek112* »is this affair sure?»; 40: 5 *lin75 hiung10 k'o k'an-109 kien-147 liao* »have you, brother Lin, seen it?». But the frequency is not so great as to allow more than mark 1.

Thus, in regard to this important construction Shueihu stands in contrast to all the other four works.

2. In modern Mandarin it is very common to formulate a confirmatory question by antithetical positive and negative statements: *t'a9 lai9 put lai9* »he comes — (he) not comes» = »will he come or not, will he come?» (answer: »yes» or »no»).

In perfective aspect this gives: *t'a lai liao mei yu* »he come have — not have» = »he has come or (he) has not» = »has he come?». Here the subject *t'a* is not repeated in the second member, nor the principal verb, only the auxiliary: the clause is a brachylogy for *t'a lai liao — (t'a) mei yu (lai)*. It should be pointed out that we do not mean here indirect questions of the type: *put ch'i111 sh'i ye put sh'i* »I do not know whether it is they or not» (Shueihu 61: 22), *ni:9 shuot149 . . . tsin-162 tek tsin-162 put tek* »Do you think that you can enter?» (Julin 42: 244), nor questions in which the second member is merely the negation word of the type *ni:9 jen-149 tek Sung-40 put* »do you know Sung or not?» (Shueihu 21:17); *an40 p'ai;60 ye weih* »have you arranged it or not?» (Shueihu 30: 4). What we shall examine is the type illustrated above: a direct question expressed by a repetition of the verb, with negation, either the principal verb (*lai put lai*) or at least the auxiliary verb (*lai liao mei yu*). This construction, exceedingly common in modern Mandarin, occurs as follows:

A. Shueihu A has only a few sporadic cases, e. g. 20:19 *ni:9 huan;162 ye put huan;162* »do you give it back?»; 4:7 *nü:38 er;10 to:158 kuo-162 liao put ts'eng;73* »has the girl escaped?». There are, in fact, altogether 6 cases (besides those just

mentioned: 21:17, 32:16, 37:10, 65:15). These cases cannot be suspected of being corruptions in the tradition of the text, since most of them have the peculiarity of ending the first (positive) member by the particle *ye* (也), which is contrary to modern usage. But even so, 6 cases among hundreds of direct questions can at most show that the writer knew of this construction but found it so foreign to his own colloquial that he did not, on the whole, let his book characters employ it in their dialogues. We consequently give it mark 0.

B. Shueihu B in the same way refuses this construction (only 3 stray examples: 73: 77 *ni:9 ts'eng;73 ch'it30 fan-184 ye put ts'eng:73* »have you eaten?« and further 73: 83 and 81: 3). Thus mark 0.

C. Siyu again has only 5 stray examples (33: 17, 39: 5, 39: 14, 41: 13 and 63: 7), much too few for accepting this construction as a regular feature of the author's colloquial. We register mark 0.

D. Julin likewise has only 5 sporadic cases (4: 69, 9: 156, 24: 390, 43: 256, 52: 400), thus mark 0.

E. In Hunglou A, on the contrary, this construction is exceedingly common e. g. 7: 3 *yu ming30 ts'i-39 meit yu ni30* »has it a name?«; 8:11 *ni:9 tsou:156 put tsou:156* »do you go?«; 10:11 *sh'i put sh'i* »is it correct?«; 14:9 *ni:9 kien-147 kuo-162 liao piet18 jen9 meit yu* »have you seen some other man?«; 19:4 *hao:38 put hao:38* »is it all right?«; 22:8 *ni:9 sh'i che-162 ko-9 chu:3 yi-61 put sh'i* »are you of this opinion?«; 23:6 *tu163 ch'it30 wan;40 liao meit yu* »have you eaten it all?«; etc., very common indeed. Often combined with the *k'o* studied under 1 above, e. g. 7:6 *yin;167 ts'i k'o tek liao meit yu* »have you received the silver?«; 9:3 *ko30 er10 k'o t'ing128 kien-147 liao put ts'eng;73* »have you, my brother, heard it?«; 9:7 *kia40 li:145 tik ta-37 jen9 k'o kuan:118 ni:9 kiao8 p'eng;74 yu:29 put kuan:118* »does the great man in your house (your father) care about your keeping company with friends?«. A strong mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is likewise very common indeed, e. g. 82: 7 *ni:9 tung:61 tek put tung-61 tek* »do you understand?«; 88:2 *ni:9 sie:40 put sie:40* »do you write?«; 84:5 *ni:9 k'ai169 liao meit yu* »did you open?«; 84: 8 *ni:9 nien-61 kuo-162 meit yu* »have you read it?«; 88:4 *tso-9 shang-1 lai9 liao meit yu* »have you made it up?«; in combination with *k'o*:92: 2 *ming72 j'it72 k'o sh'i k'u-28 put k'u-28 ni30* »shall I go tomorrow?«. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua lacks this construction entirely. I have found only one stray example (65: 4), even that in an indirect rather than in a direct question. Thus mark 0.

Thus in Hunglou (A and B) alone this construction of type *lai9 put lai9*, which is so exceedingly common in modern Mandarin, is fully living and strong, in all the other four works it is lacking or very nearly so.

3. The type of confirmatory question mentioned first, i. e. a straight word sequence, followed by final *mo* (*ma*), e. g. *t'a9 lai9 mo* »does he come?«, obtains its interrogative quality exclusively through the interrogative final particle. It



is therefore most surprising to find yet another mode of expression: simply the straight word sequence of an affirmative clause without the final particle, and no other indication of the interrogative meaning than the context. This is certainly not allowable, as a rule, in modern Mandarin, but in some of our older works it is quite common. The phenomenon is quite natural in a western language, in which an interrogative intonation can supply the questioning quality, e. g. Engl. »you will come tomorrow?» (= »will you come tomorrow?»); but in Chinese, where the clause melody is made up of the tones of the individual words, such a questioning intonation is precluded. Still, we find such clauses in form affirmative but in sense interrogative in the following cases:

A. In Shueihu A this construction is exceedingly frequent (hundreds of cases), e. g.: 2:13 *t'a1 shao:42 ni:9 fang;63 ts'ien;167* »does he owe you house rent?»; 3:14 *chen109 ko-9 put mai-154* »do you really not sell it?»; 3:26 *ni:9 put ch'it30* »do you not eat it?»; 9:10 *ni:9 jen-149 tek che-162 ko-9 hu;140 lu140 er;10* »do you recognize this calabash?»; 10:8 *ni:9 chen109 ko-9 yao na64 wo:62* »do you really want to seize me?»; 10:12 *Ch'ai;75 ta-37 kuan40 jen9 kin-162 jüt72 wu yang-61* »has Sir Ch'ai recently been free from illness?»; 13: 7 *ju38 kin9 put shi ship24 nien51 liao* »is it not ten years now?»; 14: 12 *k'uek26 put shi hao:38* »but is that not fine?»; 17: 11 *che-162 kien-9 shi-6 jat105 liao* »has this affair been disclosed?»; 17: 12 *sien10 sheng 100 put ts'eng;73 tek hui-73* »have you, sir, not been able to meet him?»; 23:13 *put p'a-62 leng:15* »do you not fear to be cold?»; 25: 15 *ni:9 che-162 hua-149 shi shüt40 liao* »are these words of yours true?»; 31: 10 *ni:9 put shi wo:62 ko30 ko30* »are you not my brother?»; 37:14 *ch'it30 jouk130 put k'iang;57 si-9 ch'it30 yü;195* »is it not better to eat meat than fish?». Thus mark 2.

B. In Shueihu B, on the contrary, this construction is almost entirely lacking; I have found only four stray examples (81:12, 85:62, 98:55, 110:4). The mark will here be 0.

C. Siyu has the affirmative clause as an interrogative just as frequently as Shueihu A above. Examples: 1:13 *k'uek26 put shi hao:38* »but is this not fine?»; 9:16 *che-162 put shi an:9 p'o;38 p'o:38* »is this not my woman?»; 14: 17 *che-162 yi145 mao-50 shi tung75 t'u:32 tai-50 lai9 tik* »this garment and cap, have they been brought here from the east?»; 15: 12 *ni:9 put jen-149 tek t'a9* »do you not know him?»; 19: 5 *ni:9 pa:64 wo:62 ta-37 men169 ta:64 p'o-112* »are you breaking my principal gate?»; 27: 5 *che-162 put tao-18 liao* »have we not now arrived?»; 29: 10 *chen-74 tang102 p'a-61 t'a9* »ought I to fear him?»; 30: 2 *che-162 put shi ni:9 kan-51 tik shi-6* »is this not an affair which you should manage? etc. Thus a strong mark 2.

D. Julin again makes frequent use of this construction, e. g. 4: 58 *kin9 jüt72 put tsai che-162 li:145* »is he not here today?»; 6: 102 *ni:9 put no9 yüü t'a9 chu-9* »will you not move over and live with him?»; 9: 143 *ni:9 tik lao:125 pan-9 ye t'ung;30 tsai che-162 li:145* »is your comrade also here?»; 13:211 *che-162 li:145 shi Ma:187 sien10 sheng100 hia-1 ch'u-141* »is this Mr. Ma's home?»; 18:289 *che-162 ki:52 jüt72 put ts'eng;73 ch'ut17 men169* »have you not gone out these few days?»; 29: 30 *sien10*

*sheng*100 *shī chu*-9 *tsai peik*21 *men*169 *tik* »are you, Sir, living at the northern gate?»; 32: 71 *nī*:9 *ming*72 *jīt*72 *yao hui*;30 *k'ū*-28 »will you go back tomorrow?». Thus mark 2.

E. In Hunglou A it is equally common, e. g.: 3: 7 *nī*:9 *put jen*-149 *tek t'a*9 »do you not know him?»; 4:3 *pat*12 *kiu*:5 *nien*51 *lai*9 *tsiu wang*;61 *liao wo*:62 *liao* »after eight or nine years, have you forgotten me?»; 5: 3 *nī*:9 *meit*85 *yu k'an*-109 *kien*-147 *wo*:62 *na*-162 *ko*-9 *hiung*10 *ti*-57 *lai*9 *liao* »did you not see my brother arrive?»; 7: 4 *yu*-29 *siang*:61 *chok t'a*9 *men*9 »are you still thinking of them?»; 8:3 *ko*30 *ko*30 *put tsai kia*40 »is my brother not at home?»; 17:19 *nī*:9 *hai*;162 *put k'ū*-28 »do you not go?»; 31:5 *nī*:9 *ye put p'a*-61 *sao*-130 *liao t'a*9 »are you not afraid of confusing him?». Very frequent, mark 2.

F. Hunglou B agrees perfectly with the preceding in this respect, e. g. 81:12 *Ying*;162 *er*10 *yi*:49 *king*120 *hui*;31 *k'ū*-28 *liao* »has Ying-er already returned?»; 82:1 *nī*:9 *t'ing*128 *kien*-147 *liao* »have you heard it?»; 82:19 *meit tao*-18 *nī*:9 *men*9 *na*-163 *pien*162 *k'ū*-28 »has he not gone to you over there?»; 85:5 *che*-162 *put shī wo*:62 *na*-163 *yit*1 *k'uai*-32 *yūk*96 »is this not my piece of jade?»; 85: 7 *ku*38 *niang*38 *ts'ing*85 *ch'en*;72 *k'i*:156 *lai*9 *tsiu k'an*-109 *shu*73 »do you, miss, when rising in the early morning, read books?». Mark 2.

G. In Kinghua this construction is entirely lacking, mark 0.

To sum up: the peculiar use of an affirmative clause as serving for an interrogative is common in older Mandarin, only in Shueihu B and Kinghua is it missing, as in modern Pekinese.

4. The second type of interrogative clause, the supplementary question (type: *a = x*), e. g. *t'a*9 *shī shuei*;149 »who is he?» (answer: »Mr. Jones») can do very well without further indication of its interrogative nature, since it regularly contains an interrogative pronoun or adverb. But in modern Mandarin there is very often, in addition, the final interrogative particle *nī*30 e. g. *t'a*9 *shī shuei*;149 *nī*30 »who is he?» (moreover, frequently the interrogative value of this particle is so weakened as to make the *nī* practically an empty particle, which rounds off the end of the sentence simply for the sake of euphony).

A. In Shueihu A this *nī*30 is entirely lacking, mark 0.

B. In Shueihu B it is likewise lacking, mark 0.

C. Siyu has only one stray instance (34: 9), thus mark 0.

D. Julin has 11 instances of *nī*30, e. g. 16: 265 *na*:163 *li*:145 *fang*70 *pian*-9 *nī*30 »how can it be convenient?»; 23: 375 *wei shenmo yao ta*:3 *wo*:62 *nī*30 »why do you want to beat me?»; 26: 423 *nī*:9 *fu*-88 *ts'in*147 *nī*30 »is it your father?» (other cases: 1: 7, 2: 31, 4: 59, 41: 220, 42: 243, 52: 397, 54: 429, 430). The number of examples is so restricted that it cannot be considered as a normal feature of the author's colloquial; at the same time they should not be totally disregarded (as they would if there were only some 5 or 6 cases); hence we shall indicate a slight tendency towards mark 1; thus: mark 0 (1).

E. In Hunglou A the final *ni30* is exceedingly common, e. g. 4: 8 *yi9 ni:9 tsenmo yang-75 ni30* »how should it be, according to you?»; 6: 4 *shuei;149 kiao-30 ni:30 ta:64 kiep19 k'u-28 ni30* »who has ordered you to go and plunder?»; 6: 9 *tsai t'ai-37 t'ai-37 wuk44 li145 ni30* »she is in the lady's room (n'est-ce-pas)». Thus mark 2.

F. Hunglou B agrees with the preceding, e. g. 81: 2 *che-162 yang-75 k'i:151 put hao:38 ni30* »will it not be allright in this way?»; 81: 8 *che-162 k'o tsenmo yang-75 ni30* »how will this be?»; 82: 10 *na:162 li:145 hai;162 kan:66 k'i76 fu-154 jen9 ni30* »how does he dare maltreat others?». Very common, mark 2.

G. Kinghua likewise makes a frequent use of the final *ni30*, e. g. 9: 1 *wei ho ts'i ch'u-141 ye yu ni30* »why does it occur here as well?»; 17: 5 *ho put luek102 tsiang41 ta-38 kai-75 shuot149 shuot149 ni30* »why not briefly tell me about the principal thing?»; 19: 8 *kiao-66 na:162 ko-9 t'i-73 ni:9 kuan:118 to-137 ni30* »whom will you let manage the rudder for you?»; 22:6 *shī ho shu73 ni30* »what book is that?»; 37: 6 *ts'ing:149 wen-30 ti-118 san1 kien-9 ni30* »I beg to ask about the third matter?». Mark 2.

In regard to this criterion, Shueihu A and B, and Siyu (lacking *ni30*) stand opposed to Hunglou A and B and Kinghua (in which it is frequent), with Julin occupying an intermediate position (occurring, but very rarely).

5. The particles *tsi:38* 子 and *er10* 兒 as suffixed to nouns, e. g. *chok75 tsi:38* »table» *hua140 er10* (*hua-r*) »flower» are exceedingly common in modern Mandarin. In our novel texts the former is common in all and will therefore be disregarded here. But *er10* is more distinctive:

A. In Shueihu A, though not exceedingly frequent, it is still quite common, e. g. 1: 11 *yit1 tan-64 er10* (*ta-r*) »a burden»; 1: 22 *ko-9 chang94 er10 t'u-10 er10* »a roebuck or a hare»; 2: 10 *siao:42 k'uk73 er10* »a small song»; 3: 2 *fu-88 tsi:38 liang:11 k'ou:30 er10* »father and son, two persons»; 3: 10 *che-162 sie7 er10* »theses»; 4: 8 *mao-50 er10* »the cap» etc. Mark 2.

B. In Shueihu B it is much less common than in the preceding, yet it occurs now and then, e. g. 73:81 *liang:11 k'ou:30 er10* »two persons»; 75:6 *hien:170 sie7 er10* »somewhat exposing to danger»; 78: 51 *p'ing;98 er10* »a bottle», etc. We give it mark 1.

C. In Siyu it is again very common, e. g. 1: 8 *yit1 tien:203 er10* »a little»; 2: 5 *na-163 men169 er10* »that gate»; 2: 9 *che-162 ko-9 jap85 er10* »this method»; 2: 10 *hou;94 er10* »monkey», etc. Mark 2.

D. Julin has 16 instances of *er10*, e. g. 1: 21 *pan-24 chan:108 er10* »half a cup»; 4: 60 *sik38 fu-38 er10* »wife»; 6: 105 *ko30 er10* »brother»; 21: 343 *tsou:156 tao-162 er10* »to travel», etc. The number is so small that we might hesitate between marks 1 and 0; we shall register mark 1 (0).

E. Hunglou A has it very frequently indeed, e. g. 1: 17 *wo:62 che-162 ko30 er10* »this brother of mine»; 3: 14 *shuot149 hua-149 er10* »to chat»; 6: 4 *siang:61 ko-9 jap70 jap85 er10* »think of a method», etc. Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is likewise common, e. g. 81: 2 *meit jap85 er10* »there is no method»; 81: 8 *yu shenmo sin-9 er10* »if there is any news»; 81: 9 *che-162 ko-9 yang-75 er10* »in this fashion», etc. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua has it frequently, e. g. 1: 5 *pot130 er10 ch'ang;168 ch'ang;168, lien:130 er10 hek203 hek203* »the neck very long and the face very black»; 2: 5 *na-163 sie7 niao:196 er10* »those birds»; 3: 3 *hua140 er10* »flower»; 15: 1 *siang:61 chok fang70 er10, pien-149 chok yang-75 er10* »thinking of a method, and altering the manner»; etc. Mark 2.

To sum up: whereas the suffixed *er10* is very common in most of the novels both early and late, it is greatly reduced in Shueihu B and even more so in Julin.

6. This same particle *er10* is very common in modern northern Mandarin as suffix of certain adverbs of time *kin9 er10 (ki-r)* »to day», *ming72 er10 (mi-er)* »tomorrow» etc. It is here really a reduction of the word *jit72* Pek. *ʒi > ʒ > əʒ > ər*. In our novels it occurs in the following way:

A—D. In Shueihu A, Shueihu B, Siyu and in Julin it is completely lacking, mark 0.

E. In Hunglou A it is extremely common, e. g. 3: 19 *kin9 er10* »to day»; 6: 14 *tsok72 er10* »yesterday»; 7: 6 *ming72 er10* »tomorrow»; 7: 8 *ts'ien;18 er 10* »the day before yesterday»; 14: 6 *hou-60 er10* »the day after tomorrow». Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is equally common, e. g. 81: 1 *tsok72 er10* »yesterday»; 81: 6 *kin9 er10* »today»; 81: 14 *ming72 er10* »tomorrow»; 82: 9 *ts'ien;18 er10* »the day before yesterday»; etc. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua has only one stray example (51: 6 *kin9 er10*), probably due to text corruption, thus mark 0.

Thus, the time adverbs ending in *er10* occur exclusively (but then very frequently) in Hunglou A and B, but not at all in the most recent work, Kinghua.

7. The word *meit* 沒 as negation for the verb *yu* »to have, to exist» is one of the typical features of modern Mandarin as opposed to the literary language. In our novels we find its occurrence as follows:

A. Shueihu A has a few stray instances only, e. g. 1: 22 *meit yu ko-9 chang er10* »there is not a roebuck». But I have found only 10 examples altogether (1: 22 bis, 12: 14, 23: 44, 45, 33: 3, 37: 13, 39: 15, 53: 3, 60: 20) in this exceedingly long text, which means that this feature did not belong to the author's ordinary colloquial; these few instances may be due to corruptions in the text transmission. Mark 0.

B. Shueihu B likewise has only 6 stray examples (74: 92, 81: 8, 92: 76, 98: 44, 113: 57, 118: 33); mark 0.

C. In Siyu, on the contrary, it is current, though not frequent, e. g. 12: 5 *siao:42 tik meit yu shenmo kin167 yin;167* »I, small one, have no gold or silver»; 21: 6 *lien162 suk40 ch'u-141 ye meit yu liao* »even a place for the night there is not»; etc. The number of instances is barely sufficient for mark 2.

D. In Julin this element is extremely common, e. g. 1: 3 *meit yu yit1 ko-9 hua-102 kung47* »there is not a single painter»; 1: 12 *ch'ai;75 mi:119 put ch'ou;61 meit yu*

»do not be sorry that there is no fuel or rice»; 3: 47 *wo:62 kin9 jüt72 meit yu mi:119* »to day I have no rice», etc. Mark 2.

E. In Hunglou A it is equally common, e. g. 1: 3 *meit yu shüt40 tsai hao:38 ch'u-141* »it has no real advantage»; 2: 6 *yu sin69 wen128 meit yu* »is there any news or not?»; 3: 18 *t'a9 chi:30 shuot149 meit yu yük96* »she simply says that she does not have the jade»; 6: 3 *meit yu ts'ien;167* »if you have no money»; etc. Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is likewise very common, e. g. 81: 4 *meit yu yit1 tien:203 er10 kung47 fu37* »you have not any time, even a little»; 82: 4 *kin9 jüt72 yu shi-6 meit yu* »have you any business today or not?» etc. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua, however, has only one exceptional instance (8: 1), hence a decided mark 0.

Thus we find the curious phenomenon that this *meit yu* »not have», which is so exceedingly common in modern Mandarin, is lacking not only in one of the earliest (Shueihu) but also in the latest (Kinghua) of our novels examined, whereas it is strongly current in the rest.

8. In modern Mandarin the auxiliaries *meit yu* 沒有 are the regular means of expressing perfective action in the negative form. Thus, to *t'a9 lai9 liao* »he came, he has come», corresponds *t'a9 meit yu lai9* »he did not come, he has not come». In our novels we find:

A. In Shueihu A this is entirely lacking (we do not speak here of *meit* alone but of the combination *meit yu*), thus mark 0.

B. Shueihu B likewise obtains mark 0.

C. Siyu offers one single example (82: 1), probably due to a faulty text transmission; thus mark 0.

D. Julin on the whole does not employ the *meit yu* construction, but there are six sporadic instances (2: 29, 22: 353, 27: 443, 46: 311, 48: 334, 51: 380). These cases show that the author knew of this construction, though it did not belong to his own normal colloquial. They are too few to be considered to be more than exceptions. Thus, mark 0.

E. Hunglou A makes a constant and frequent use of *meit yu* as perfective auxiliary, e. g. 2: 8 *meit yu kan:66 lai9* »he has not dared come»; 5: 3 *ni:9 meit yu k'an-109 kien-147 wo:62 na-163 hiung10 ti-57 lai9 liao* »did you not see that brother of mine come?»; 6: 15 *yung-101 liao tsao-72 fan-184 meit yu ni30* »have you had breakfast or not?»; 10: 3 *meit yu lai9* »she has not come»; 10: 6 *meit yu k'iu;85 shenmo shi-6* »he has not asked for anything»; etc. Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is just the same, e. g. 81: 10 *meit yu pao-32 tap118 t'a9* »he has not requited him»; 82: 2 *k'ü-28 kuo-162 liao meit yu* »have you gone or not?»; 83: 19 *wo:62 meit yu kia19 t'a9 sheng128 k'i-84* »I have not applied a single sound to him (= have said nothing)». etc. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua lacks it entirely, mark 0.

Thus we find the perfective with *meit yu*, which is exceedingly common in modern Mandarin, exclusively in Hunglou, but for the rest it is unknown, or practically so, in all the other texts, even the latest (Kinghua).

9. In modern Pekinese the word *piet18* 別 is very common as a negation of the imperative form, synonymous with *put yao*, e. g. *piet18 shuot149* (*put yao shuot*) »don't say it!». In our novels we find:

A—D. Shueihu A, Shueihu B, Siyu and Julin lack it entirely, thus mark 0.

E. In Hunglou A it is very common indeed, e. g. 4: 5 *che-162 ts'ie:1 piet18 shuot149* »don't say this!«; 5: 22 *piet18 p'a-61* »don't be afraid!«; 6: 1 *piet18 kao-30 su-149 piet18 jen9* »don't tell other people!«; 8: 5 *piet18 t'ing128 t'a9 tik hua-149* »don't listen to his words!«; 10: 3 *piet18 kuan:118 t'a9 men9* »don't care about them!«; 12: 4 *piet18 lai9* »don't come!«; 12: 5 *piet18 tsou:156* »don't go!«; etc. Mark 2.

F. Hunglou B has it equally frequently, e. g. 81: 6 *ni:9 piet18 tung-19* »don't move!«; 81: 15 *piet18 kiao-30 ni:9 lao:125 tsi sheng1 k'i-84* »don't make your old one become angry!«; 82: 5 *ni:9 piet18 ch'ao:30 nao-191* »don't shout!«; 83: 3 *ni:9 piet18 sin61 fan:86* »don't be troubled in your heart!« etc. Mark 2.

G. In Kinghua, on the contrary, it is lacking: mark 0.

Thus, here Hunglou (A and B) stands in strong contrast to all the rest.

10. In modern Mandarin it is common to find, instead of *jok shī* 若是, or simply *jok* 若 = »if«, a *yao shī* 要是, or simply *yao* = »if»: *yao shī t'a9 lai9* »if he comes«.

A—B. In Shueihu A and Shueihu B this is entirely lacking: mark 0.

C. In Siyu there is one stray example (61: 18); thus mark 0.

D. Julin likewise has only one example (54: 420), thus mark 0.

E. Hunglou A, on the contrary, makes an extensive use of this conjunction: 20: 11 *yao shī che-162 yang-75 nao-191* »if you make a noise like this«; 24: 7 *yao shī piet18 ko-9* »if it is another«; 26: 4 *yao shī chī111 hao:38 tai:78* »if he knows what is good or bad«; 31: 5 *yao shī sin61 li:145 nao-61 wo:61* »if you are angry with me in your heart«; 46: 3 *t'a9 yao shī put yen:149 yū:149* »if he does not speak«; 68: 3 *yao shī mei-38 mei-38 tsai wai-36 t'ou:181* »if my sister is outside«; 43: 4 *yao put shī ni:9* »if it is not you«; 44: 13 *yao put jan86* »if it is not so«; 46: 8 *lao:124 t'ai-37 t'ai-37 yao wen-30 wo:62* »if the old lady asks me«; 47: 3 *yao che-162 ko-9 ya6 t'ou:181 put neng* »if this slave girl is not able«; 52: 20 *yao put liu102 sin61* »if you are not careful«; etc. Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B likewise this element is very common, e. g. 88: 11 *yao shī che-162 mo tik* »if it is like this«; 93: 16 *yao shī wen-30 chun:15 liao* »if you have asked and verified«; 94: 19 *yao shī san1 t'ien37 chao:64 put chok* »if you cannot find it in three days«; 101: 6 *yao shī wo:62 si:78 liao* »if I die«; 86: 16 *chī:30 yao ni:9 men9 neng t'an:57* »if you only can play«; 90: 11 *ku38 niang38 yao put shou66 che-162 yi145 shang:145* »if you, miss, do not accept this garment«; 91: 5 *t'a9 yao put ying-53* »if he does not agree«; 92: 5 *ni:9 yao put tung:61* »if you do not understand«; etc. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua lacks this *yao shī* (*yao*) entirely, mark 0.

Here again Hunglou stands in contrast to all the rest.

11. We now come to a most curious and interesting construction which is really a contamination of two other constructions. If we have, on the one hand, a clause: *ni:9 jok 若 chī111 tao-162* »if you know»; and on the other hand, a clause *ni:9 chī111 tao-162 shī;72 時* (»at the time [occasion] of your knowing = in case you know» =) »if you know», these two may be mixed up into *ni:9 jok chī111 tao-162 shī;72* (»if and on the occasion» =) »if you know». The former type of conditional clause (*ni:9 jok chī111 tao-162*) is, of course, the normal and most common one; but the second type is also quite well-known, e. g. Shueihu 1: 17 *ch'ung144 chuang-64 liao ling-9 lang163 shī;72* »(on the occasion =) if I knock down your son»; Shueihu 11: 9 *ni:9 put sin-9 shī;72* »if you do not believe it», etc. Now the contaminated construction is highly interesting:

A. In Shueihu A it is very common indeed; and not only with conditional conjunctions but also with *ki 既* »since»: 1: 16 *jok ai-61 hūek39 shī;72* »if you love to learn»; 1: 18 *ki jan86 ling-9 lang163 k'en:130 hūek39 shī;72* »since your son is willing to learn»; 1: 23 *t'ang:9 jok na-163 si27 men9 lai9 shī;72* »if those fellows come»; 2: 1 *jok shī si:78 shī;72* »if I die»; 2: 7 *ni9 ki shī Shī:30 ta-37 lang163 shī;72* »since you are Shī Ta-lang»; 3: 1 *jok put shī lao:125 han-85 yū-162 kien-147 shī;72* »if I, old man, had not met you»; 4: 17 *wo:62 jok jen-149 tek t'a9 shī;72* »if I know him»; 5: 6 *ni:9 jok put sin-9 shī;72* »if you do not believe it»; 10: 7 *jok yao k'ū-28 shī;72* »if you wish to go»; 13: 9 *t'ang:9 meng140 ko30 ko30 put k'i-75 shī;72* »if I receive (the favour) that you, my brother, do reject me». Mark 2.

B. In Shueihu B it is likewise common: 73: 82 *ni:9 jok put pa:64 nū:38 er10 huan;162 t'a9 shī;72* »if you do not return the girl to him»; 74: 89 *t'ang:9 huok62 ying;154 shī;72* »if you win»; 75: 3 *ni:9 men9 jok ju ts'i shuot149 shī;72* »if you speak like this»; 84: 50 *jok lai9 kung66 shī;72* »if they come and attack»; 85: 63 *jok shī ju ts'i shī;72* »if it is like this»; 88: 21 *jok tsiang41 kūn159 k'en:130 shī;72* »if you, general, are willing»; etc. Mark 2.

C. In Siyu this contamination is not common, but fairly well represented, e. g. 6: 3 *jok yū-162 chan-62 shī;72* »if you encounter battle»; 17: 17 *jok yao yi9 tek wo:62 shī;72* »if he will follow my wish»; 31: 10 *t'ang:9 t'a9 lai9 shī;72* »if he comes»; 33: 6 *jok k'an-109 put kien-147 shī50 fu-88 shī;72* »if you cannot see the master»; 37: 4 *jok yao yū:173 shī;72* »if you want rain»; 37: 10 *t'a9 jok wen-30 shī;72* »if he asks»; etc. The instances are not numerous enough for mark 2, but sufficient for mark 1.

D. Julin has only one isolated case (21: 338), thus mark 0.

E. In Hunglou A this construction is not entirely missing; we have it, for instance, in 3: 6 *jok yao hao:38 shī;72* »if you want it to be all right»; 7: 3 *jok fat105 liao ping-104 shī;72* »if you become sick». But I have found in all 13 cases; it might be tempting to register mark 1. But in view of the extreme length of the dialogues in this work, 13 cases are almost insignificant; they show at most that the author knew of the construction without really being familiar with it in his own colloquial. We decide in favour of 0 but we shall indicate the slight tendency thus: 0 (1).

F. Hunglou B has only four cases (109: 3 bis, 114: 2, 115: 10), thus mark 0.



G. Kinghua has only one stray example (9: 4), thus mark 0.

We conclude that this very peculiar construction exists principally in Shueihu and to a smaller extent in Siyu, but is lacking, or nearly so, in the rest.

12. The conjunction *yin31 wei* 因為 »because», which is so extremely common in modern Mandarin, occurs as follows:

A. Shueihu A has a limited number of examples, e. g. 4: 15 *yin31 wei t'ien37 wan:72* »because it was late in the day»; 27: 14 *yin31 wei hiung10 chang:168 shi ko-9 ta-37 chang-1 fu37* »because you, my brother, are a big fellow», etc. (other ex.: 6: 16, 6: 18, 30: 11, 37: 5, 38: 27 etc.). The number is barely sufficient for mark 1.

B. Shueihu B lacks this *yin31 wei* entirely, mark 0.

C. Siyu again has a restricted number of cases (12: 2, 15: 6, 19: 7, 21: 16, 22: 14, 25: 6, 26: 7 etc.), barely sufficient for mark 1.

D. Julin has only three stray examples (5: 88, 16: 261, 262), thus mark 0.

E. Hunglou A employs this conjunction extensively, e. g. 10: 7 *yin31 wei put tek ko-9 hao:38 t'ai-37 yi164* »because they could not get a good doctor» (other ex. 3: 17, 10: 13, 11: 2, 19: 12, 19: 22 etc.). Mark 2.

F. Hunglou B likewise has it frequently, e. g. 87: 6 *yin31 wei ping-104 liao yit1 ch'ang:32* »because he had a spell of sickness», etc. (other ex. 84: 10, 86: 1, 89: 9, 91: 10, 93: 8 etc.). Mark 2.

G. Kinghua has only two stray cases (74: 1, 74: 6), hence mark 0.

Thus, it is only Hunglou (A and B) which makes a frequent use of this *yin31 wei* and, besides that, only Shueihu A (but not B) and Siyu use it very sparingly.

13. The inversion of *yin31 wei*, the conjunction *wei yin31* 爲因 does not belong to modern Pekinese, but it occurs thus:

A. Shueihu A employs it, though not frequently, e. g. 1: 18 *wei yin31 sin69 jen-9 yit ko-9 Kao189* »because recently had been appointed a certain Kao»; 16: 8 *wei yin31 san1 k'üan:64 ta:64 si:78 liao Chen-167 Kuan169 si146* »because with three fist-blows I killed Chen Kuan-si»; 31: 24 *wei yin31 mu:80 ts'in147 k'i-75 shi-1* »because my mother has left this world»; 32: 18 *chi111 fu:53 wei yin31 t'ing128 tek . . .* »because the prefect has heard . . .»; 35: 3 *wei yin31 put liang138* »because she was no good»; (other ex.: 1: 14, 2: 19, 16: 5, 16: 18, 26: 13, 34: 12, 36: 2, 43: 10 etc.). Mark 1.

B. Shueihu B has only one ex. (114: 67), mark 0.

C—G. Siyu, Julin, Hunglou A and B and Kinghua lack it entirely, mark 0.

Shueihu A here stands quite alone against all the rest.

14. The interrogative adverb *wei shenmo* »why», very common in modern Mandarin, occurs as follows:

A—B. Shueihu A and Shueihu B lack it entirely, mark 0.

C. Siyu has only three stray examples (75: 13, 81: 5, 85: 12), thus mark 0.

D. Julin, on the contrary, makes a very frequent use of it, e. g. 1: 12 *wo:62 wei shenmo yao siang75 yüü t'a9* »why should I associate with him?»; 3: 37 *wei*

*shenmo che-162 yang-75 hao-141* »why do you shout like this?«; (other ex. 2: 27, 3: 38, 3: 47, 4: 59, 10: 161, 11: 179 etc.). Mark 2.

E. In Hunglou A it is likewise very common, e. g. 8: 10 *wo:62 wei shenmo chu-19 t'a9* »why should I help him?«; 9: 13 *che-162 shi wei shenmo* »why is this?«; (other ex. 7: 12, 11: 14, 21: 5, 22: 7, 22: 8 etc.) Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is just as common, e. g. 81: 3 *wei shenmo yao kia-38* »why do you want to marry?«; 81: 5 *ni:9 wei shenmo yu-29 put k'an-109 liao* »why do you not read any more?«, etc. (other ex. 81: 1, 81: 4, 81: 16, 82: 17 etc.). Mark 2.

G. Kinghua has only three sporadic cases (72: 9, 73: 9, 74: 5), thus mark 0.

In regard to this feature, then, Julin and Hunglou (A and B) contrast with the rest.

15. Whereas the interrogative and indefinite pronoun *shenmo* »what, which« is common in all the texts, as in modern Mandarin, the adverbs formed with final *mo* are more complicated. We shall examine first *tšenmo* »how, in some way«:

A. Shueihu A has a few sporadic instances, e. g. 4: 12 *tšenmo lai9* »how is it that you come?«. There are in all 12 cases (9: 4, 24: 1, 27: 5, 43: 14, 44: 23, 45: 8, 19, 46: 6, 47: 1, 2, 52: 5), and in this very extensive text this practically means that the author rejects this adverb; the slight tendency to employ it should, however, be indicated, so we write: mark 0 (I).

B. Shueihu B agrees with the preceding; it has ten instances (98: 44, 99: 66, 104: 30, 32, 33, 106: 48, 107: 59, 60, 108: 66, 109: 92), thus mark 0 (I).

C. Siyu has *tšenmo* very frequently, e. g. 1: 6 *li:145 mien-176 tšenmo yang-75* »how is it inside?«; 1: 16 *tšenmo shuot149* »how do you mean« (other ex.: 2: 2, 2: 3 ter, 2: 4, 7, 8 etc.). Mark 2.

D. Julin likewise has a great many *tšenmo*, e. g. 3: 52 *wo:62 tšenmo tso-32 tsai che-162 li:145* »how can I sit here?« (other ex.: 3: 56, 6: 93, 7: 111, 112 bis, 119, 9: 155, 12: 200, 202 etc.). Mark 2.

E. Hunglou A has it equally often, e. g. 4: 8 *yi9 ni:9 tšenmo yang-75 ni30* »how is it according to you?« (other ex.: 3: 7, 4: 4, 5: 3, 8, 6: 1, 5, 12, 13 etc.). Mark 2.

F. Hunglou B agrees with the preceding, e. g. 81: 3 *shi tšenmo liao* »how is it?« (other ex. 81: 2, 4, 6, 8, 82: 3, 5, 6, 10, 14, 19 etc.), Mark 2.

G. In Kinghua it also occurs frequently, e. g. 8: 7 *tšenmo tek chi111* »how can you know it?« (other ex.: 2: 5, 7: 2, 8: 4, 9: 8, 10: 6, 12: 14, 15: 2, 19: 4, 22: 2 etc.). Mark 2.

Thus, in regard to this adverb, Shueihu (A and B) stands in opposition to all the rest.

16. Two adverbs which are extremely common in modern Mandarin: *che-162 mo* »thus« and *na-163 mo* »in that way« occur in our novels in the following way:

A. Shueihu A is lacking in them entirely, mark 0.

B. Shueihu B the same; but it should be mentioned that in 74: 95 we find a *che-162 men9* 們 in the same sense, a quite isolated case. Mark 0.

C. Siyu again lacks these adverbs (yet with one case, 80: 16 of *che-162 men9* and one, 89: 14, of *na-163 men9*); mark 0.

D. Julin has one single stray example (26: 429), thus mark 0.

E. In Hunglou A *che-162 mo* occurs very frequently indeed and *na-163 mo* in a fair number of cases; e. g. 7: 5 *wo:62 ye shī che-162 mo shuot149* »I also say like this»; 8: 3 *che-162 mo leng:15 t'ien37* »a day as cold as this»; 10: 4 *che-162 mo ko-9 mu-75 yang-75* »a fashion like this»; 20: 5 *tuei32 chok na-163 mo sie7* »there are piled up as many as that» (other ex.: 6: 7, 11: 4, 7, 11, 13: 12, 16: 8, 13, 19: 7, 19, 20: 2 6 etc.). Mark 2.

F. Hunglou B the same, e. g. 81: 9 *che-162 mo k'an-109 k'i:156 lai9* »if we look at it like this»; 82: 2 *che-162 mo tsao:72* »as early as this» (other ex. 81: 3, 84: 6, 13, 85: 9, 10, 86: 17, 88: 11 etc.). Mark 2.

G. Kinghua has two sporadic cases (70: 3, 80: 2), mark 0.

Here Hunglou (A and B) stands in contrast to all the other texts.

17. In modern Pekinese the adverbs just discussed under 16 are often extended by an enclitic *chok123*, which does not alter the meaning: *che-162 mo chok* »thus, in these circumstances».

A—D. Shueihu A, Shueihu B, Siyu and Julin lack this feature entirely. Thus mark 0.

E. In Hunglou A it is fully current, though it is not so very common, e. g. 7: 11 *ki che-162 mo chok* »since it is like this»; 23: 2 *yi9 wo:62 che-162 mo chok* »follow me like this»; 24: 2 *hai:162 shī che:162 mo chok* »moreover it is like this»; 28: 5 *put kuo-162 che-162 mo chok* »it is only like this»; 29: 21 *ni:9 ye che-162 mo chok* »now you also do like this»; 30: 8 *tsiu k'un-31 tik che-162 mo chok* »are you suffering so?»; 31: 3 *tsiu che-162 mo chok kip61 liao* »is it as urgent as that?»; 31: 11 *hai:162 shī na-163 mo chok* »is it really like that?» (other ex.: 11: 7, 27: 9, 11, 28: 9, 29: 10, 31: 7, 32: 4, 36: 6 etc.). The instances are barely sufficiently numerous for mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B this construction of the adverb is likewise fully current without being extremely common, e. g. 82: 20 *ki che-162 mo chok* »since it is like this»; 83: 3 *na-163 mo chok put lok75* »are you then not glad?»; 83: 9 *yüan:27 lai9 shī che-162 mo chok* »Is it really like that?»; *ibid.: tsiu shī na-163 mo chok liao* »it is like that»; 83: 4 *ku38 niang38 tsenmo chok* »how are you, Miss?»; 88: 4 *kuo:75 jan86 che-162 mo chok* »it is really like this?» (other ex.: 82: 20, 83: 9, 10, 18, 84: 4, 10, 16, 85: 1, 9, 10, 14 etc.), Mark 2.

G. Kinghua lacks it entirely, mark 0.

Thus, here again Hunglou A and B are opposed to all the other texts.

18. The character 甚, read *shen-99* = »very» in the literary language, is read *shen;99* in the common *shenmo* »what, which, some», already mentioned as occurring in all the text as well as in modern Mandarin. But now it happens that *shen;99* alone, without the suffix *mo*, serves in this sense »what, which, some», (which is certainly not the case in modern usage) according to the following scheme:

A. Shueihu A has it very frequently, e. g. 1: 6 *ni:9 shī shen;99 jen9* »what man are you?»; 1: 13 *yu shen;99 shī-6* »what is the matter?»; 2: 5 *ch'it30 shen;99 ch'a:140* »what kind of tea do you drink?»; 2: 9 *wei shen;99 t'i:30 k'uk30* »why do you lament?»;

3: 22 *yu shen*;99 *jouk130* »what kind of meat have you?»; 4: 3 *lai9 wo:62 chuang140 shang-1 tso-9 shen*;99 *tik* »why do you come to my farm?»; *ibid. an:9 yu-29 put ts'eng73 shuot149 shen*;99 *tik* »we have not said anything»; 5: 9 *sing-38 shen*;99 *ming30 shuei*; 149 »what is your name?»; 8: 6 *shī shen*;99 *tao-162 li:96* »what reason is that?»; 9: 3 *kuan40 jen9 ts'ing:149 shen*;99 *k'ok40* »which guest will you, Sir, invite?»; 15: 14 *piet18 wu shen*;99 *ts'ai;64 huo-154* »there were no other valuables»; etc. Mark 2.

B. In Shueihu B it is likewise common, e. g. 73: 76 *ni:9 yao wo:62 kiu-66 ni:9 shen*;99 *shī-6* »what affair is it that you want me to help you out with?»; 74: 91 *yu shen*;99 *nan172 ch'u-141* »what difficulty is there?»; 74: 96 *sing-38 shen*;99 *ming30 shuei*;149 »what is your name?»; 81: 13 *ni:9 shī shen*;99 *jen9* »who are you?»; 86: 81 *wu shen*;99 *sheng100 li:96* »I have not any means of subsistence», etc. Mark 2.

C. Siyu again has it frequently, e. g. 2: 5 *lai9 wo:62 che-162 hou-60 pien162 tso-9 shen*;99 »why do you come here behind me?»; 2: 13 *yu shen*;99 *huok113 shī-6* »what calamity is there?»; 2: 16 *ta-37 wang*;96 *sing-38 shen*;99 »what is your name, great king?», etc. Mark 2.

D. In Julin it is also quite common, e. g. 2: 27 *yin31 shen*;99 *ch'it30 chai210* »why do you fast?»; 3: 38 *yu shen*;99 *sin61 shī-6* »what anxiety have you?»; *ibid. wei shen*;99 *tao-18 liao che-162 li:145* »why have you come here?»; 4: 59 *yin31 shen*;99 *shī-6 tsung:120 put lai9 tsou:156 tsou:156* »for what cause do you not at all come and take a walk?»; 7: 110 *meit yu shen*;99 *shī-6 siang75 fan*;86 »I have no matter to trouble you with», etc. Mark 2.

E. Hunglou A has only seven sporadic cases (1: 9, 11, 6: 13 *ter*, 22: 10, 25: 11), thus mark 0.

F. Hunglou B has one isolated case (94: 2), thus mark 0.

G. Kinghua, on the contrary, very often employs it, e. g. 7: 2 *yu shen*;99 *nū:38 k'o115* »what kind of examination for ladies is there?»; 7: 5 *wu shen*;99 *ken75 ki32* »I have no foundation»; 7: 7 *wei shen*;99 *yu che-162 hao:38 ch'u-141* »why is there this advantage?»; 8: 8 *ts'i jen9 sing-38 shen*;99 »what is the name of this person?»; 8: 9 *yu shen*;99 *yung-101 ch'u-141* »what is the use?», etc. Mark 2.

Here again Hunglou A and B go against all the others.

19. The causative adverb *so yi* 所以 »therefore» (fundamentally: »by which, quo, qua de causa»), which is extremely common in modern Mandarin, occurs as follows:

A. Shueihu A lacks it entirely, having only one isolated case (53: 11).

B. Shueihu B, on the whole, does not employ it either; yet there are 8 sporadic cases, e. g. 93: 84 *so yi shat79 liao* »therefore I killed him» (other ex. 96: 30, 97: 38, 104: 30, 105: 41, 109: 93, 113: 60). We shall write mark 0 (1).

C. Siyu, on the contrary, makes a very frequent use of it, e. g. 2: 7 *so yi tu163 yao to:158 kuo-162* »therefore all want to escape». Other ex.: 7: 2, 10: 16, 13: 6, 15: 6, 18: 5, 8, 13, 21: 10, 22: 9, 23: 10, 15, 24: 15, 25: 14, 26: 10 etc. Mark 2.

D. In Julin *so yi* is extremely common, e. g. 3: 38 *so yi shou-29 k'ut44* »therefore

I was wronged». Other ex. 1: 6, 3: 38, 41, 44, 45, 4: 66 bis, 69, 5: 81, 6: 93 etc. Mark 2.

E. Hunglou A likewise has it frequently, e. g. 2: 1 *so yi lai9 ch'uan;9* »therefore I come to report». Other ex.: 2: 11, 12, 14, 3: 13, 20 bis, 4: 3, 4, 6 bis, 6: 3, 9, 7: 2, 3, 8 etc. Mark 2.

F. Hunglou B the same, e. g. 84: 11 *so yi meit chok jen9 k'u-28* »therefore I have not made anybody go». Other ex.: 81: 11, 13, 82: 10, 15, 83: 2, 8, 11, 84: 6, 7, 13, 85: 16 etc. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua also has it very frequently, e. g. 2: 6 *so yi put küek147 hao:38 siao-118* »therefore I could not help laughing». Other ex.: 1: 3, 8, 2: 6, 3: 1, 4: 2 bis, 5, 5: 5, 6: 4, 7: 3, 5, 8: 1 etc. Mark 2.

Consequently, on this point Shueihu A and B go strongly against all the rest.

There is another binome with *yi: k'o yi* 可以 »it will do, can, may» which likewise could be studied with advantage. Suffice it to say, however, that whereas Shueihu (A and B) makes a very limited use of it sufficient for a mark 1, Hunglou (A and B) has it somewhat more frequently, mark 2 (1), and it is really common only in Julin and Kinghua, mark 2.

20. In modern Mandarin there are two common adversative particles which are synonymous: *k'üek26* and *k'o* 可, e. g. *t'a9 k'üek26 put sin-9* »but he does not believe it», or *t'a9 k'o put sin-9*, id. It is possible that *k'o* is merely a modern way of pronouncing the *k'üek* (Pek. *ch'ue*), belonging to a lower, more vulgar stratum, with its own aberrant laws of sound evolution. Be that as it may. This *k'o* — which should in no circumstances be confused with the interrogative *k'o* studied under 1 above — has an interesting distribution:

A. In Shueihu A it is lacking (only two stray ex.: 2: 9, 24: 10). Mark 0.

B—D. In Shueihu B, Siyu and Julin it is likewise entirely missing, mark 0.

E. In Hunglou A it is very common indeed, e. g. 3: 16 *k'o yu-29 shi hu;30 shuot 149* »but that is to speak nonsense»; 8: 8 *che-162 k'o shi:9 put tek* »but this will not do»; 9: 7 *wo:62 k'o ye na64 chu-9 liao* »but I have also been caught»; 10: 5 *k'o liao put tek* »but this is dreadful»; 10: 6 *k'o shi che-162 hai;37 tsi ye hu;119 t'u;32* »but this child is really stupid»; 15: 7 *che-162 k'o shi meit yu tik hua-149* »but these are unfounded words»; 17: 20 *k'o put neng kou-57 liao* »but that is not possible»; 19: 19 *ts'ung;60 kin9 er10 k'o put jao184 ni:9 liao* »but from now on I will not forgive you»; 23: 2 *k'o yu-29 fei-154 shi-6* »but again it will be tiresome». Other ex.: 4: 5, 6: 17, 7: 6, 8: 10, 9: 4, 10: 4, 6, 11, 14: 9, 15: 7, 16: 9 ter, 11, etc. Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is just the same, e. g. 81: 6 *wo:62 k'o put yi9 liao* »but I do not agree»; 81: 8 *che-162 k'o tsenmo yang-75 ni30* »but how is this?»; 89: 6 *wo:62 men9 k'o put kan:66* »but we dare not», etc. Other ex.: 82: 2, 83: 3, 85: 14, 86: 16, 87: 4, 89: 6, 89: 9, 90: 13, 15, 91: 7, 8, 92: 2, 94: 3, etc. Mark 2.

G. In Kinghua, on the contrary, it is practically missing, there being only 7 stray examples (14: 2, 20: 8, 64: 3, 71: 1, 72: 11, 76: 4, 84: 5), thus mark 0.

To sum up: Hunglou (A and B) contrasts strongly with all the other texts in making an ample use of this *k'o* = »but«.

21. The adverb of time *hien-96 tsai* »now«, very common in modern Mandarin, occurs as follows:

A—C. Shueihu A, Shueihu B and Siyu lack it completely, mark 0.

D. Julin has only five stray examples (19: 306, 35: 120, 39: 194, 195, 43: 262), consequently mark 0.

E. Hunglou A makes a very restricted use of this adverb, e. g. 10: 7 *hien-96 tsai t'a9 kia40 chu-9 chok ni30* »now he is living at home«; 37: 21 *hien-96 tsai che-162 li:145 tik jen9 . . . tu163 shi ai-61 ch'it 30 . . .* »now all the people here. . . like to eat . . .«; 45: 3 *hien-96 tsai yu-29 ch'ut17 liao kia-38* »now she has been married away«, etc. Other ex.: 2: 12, 14, 13: 6, 46: 11, 14, 47: 15 bis, 49: 3, 55: 8, 68: 13, 16, 70: 5, 72: 6, 77: 14. These cases barely suffice for a mark 1, and we shall write: mark 1 (0).

F. Hunglou B has a somewhat stronger admixture of *hien-96 tsai*, e. g. 86: 7 *hien-96 tsai ta-37 lao:125 ye;88 tuan-69 ming72* »now the master has decided«; 93: 14 *nai:38 nai:38 hien-96 tsai ping-104 chok* »now grandmother is sick«, etc. Other ex. 93: 16, 94: 14 bis, 95: 6, 11, 12, 99: 9 bis, 103: 10 etc. The instances are sufficient to warrant a full mark 1, but no more.

G. In Kinghua, on the contrary, it is very common indeed, e. g. 10: 6 *hien-96 tsai ki-40 kü44 Wu;47 hien;30* »now he temporarily lives in Wu-hien«; 26: 11 *Lin75 hiung10 hien-96 tsai tsuei:30 t'ung-104* »brother Lin now has the mouth aching«, etc. Other ex.: 1: 4, 2: 7, 4: 5, 5: 7, 8, 13: 7, 15: 7, 8, 9, 21: 9, 29: 3, 6, 7 etc. Mark 2.

Thus, in regard to this element, there is a gradual increase in the frequency.

22. There is a curious synonym of the time adverb »now« just studied: *er kin* 而今. This is not, as in classical Chinese, a *kin9* connected with the preceding phrase by the auxiliary *er*, but a real binome, meaning »now«; indeed, it often occurs as the opening words in an utterance. It occurs as follows:

A, B, C, E, F, G. Shueihu (A and B), Siyu, Hunglou (A and B) Kinghua all lack it entirely (except for a single stray ex. in Shueihu 27: 14); thus all mark 0.

D. Julin has it very frequently indeed, e. g. 3: 48 *wo:62 men9 er kin9 ts'ie:1 p'ai-85 liang:11 ko-9 jen9* »we shall now send out two men«; 3: 55 *ni:9 er kin9 siang75 yüü liao che-162 ko-9 Chang57 lao:125 ye;88* »you have now been together with this Mr. Chang«; 5: 80 *wo:62 er kin9 ch'i:30 k'iu85 . . .* »I now only pray . . .«; 8: 128 *er kin9 ye put shen-99 k'üek112* »now it is not very certain«; *ibid.* [he answered:] *er kin9 ni:9 wo:62 yao t'i-73 ch'ao;74 t'ing;54 pan-160 shi-6* »now you and I will act for the Court«; 15: 246 *t'a9 er kin9 chik109 küek130 k'ü-28 liao* »now he has gone directly«; 15: 252 [he said:] *er kin9 jen9 ts'ing;61 kiao85 pok140* »now people's characters are bad«; 16: 256 *er kin9 shuei-109 tsai fang;63 li:145* »now he is sleeping in the chamber«; 16: 260 *ch'i:30 shi er kin9 wo:62 fu-88 ts'in147 ping-104 chok* »only it is so that now my father is sick«; 17: 284 *er kin9 yu-29 siang:61 chung-2 tsin-162 shi-33* »now he intends to become a licentiate«, etc. Very common, mark 2.

In this case, Julin stands alone against all the other texts.

23. The adverb *hen:60* 很 (*hen:94* 狠) »very«, which is frequently used in modern Mandarin, occurs as follows:

A—B. Shueihu A and Shueihu B lack it entirely, mark 0.

C. Siyu has only five stray examples (22: 8, 59: 4, 96: 6, 7, 97: 6), hence mark 0.

D. Julin employs it, though very sparingly, e. g. 3: 49 *yin31 t'a9 huan76 hi:30 hen:60 liao* »because he was very glad»; 6: 96 *jok shi kip61 tek hen:60* »if you are very pressed», etc. Other ex.: 10: 164, 19: 306, 24: 388 bis, 25: 403, 28: 5, 9, 31: 51 etc. There are in all eighteen instances only, so we have to write: mark 1 (0).

E. Hunglou A has it very frequently indeed, e. g. 3: 18 *hen:60 t'o:38 tang102* »it is very satisfactory»; 10: 12 *kao189 ming72 tek hen:60* »it is very high and fine»; 11: 2 *hai:162 yao hen:60 lan-86 tik* »he wants those that are very soft»; 11: 3 *yi164 tao-162 hen:60 hao:38* »his medical methods are very good»; 11: 5 *hen:60 shi* »very right»; etc. Other ex.: 1: 10 bis, 12: 1, 16: 8 bis, 16: 12, 13, 19: 10, 15, 19 etc. Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is likewise very common, e. g. 81: 13 *lao:128 ye:88 shuot149 tik hen:60 shi* »you, Sir, speak quite right», etc. Other ex.: 81: 16, 17, 82: 4 bis, 82: 21, 84: 13, 86: 10, 87: 17 etc. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua, like Julin above, uses *hen:60* very sparingly, e. g. 31: 9 *hen:60 yu yi-61 wei-30* »it is very interesting»; 64: 9 *hen:60 hao:38* »very well»; etc. Other ex.: 32: 10, 51: 2, 69: 7, 72: 9, 73: 9, 76: 6, 78: 7 etc. The cases are so few that we have to write: mark 1 (0).

Thus, it is only Hunglou (A and B) and, to a limited extent, Julin and Kinghua which employ this important adverb.

24. The personal pronoun *an: 9* 俺, »I, we«, with or without *men9* (*an:9 men9*) »we«, current in modern Mandarin, has the following distribution:

A. Shueihu A has it very frequently indeed, e. g. 1: 10 *an:9 ju38 ho yüü t'a9 cheng87 tek* »how can I compete with him?»; 1: 13 *lai9 an:9 chuang 140 shang-1* »when you come to our farm»; 2: 11 *an:9 tsi-132 yu tao-162 li:96* »I have my own principles»; 6: 9 *an:9 men9 ts'ie:1 k'ü-28* »let us now go»; 19: 12 *an:9 men9 ti-57 hiung10* »we brothers», etc. Other ex.: 1: 9, 10 bis, 16, 18, 21, 23, 26 bis, 2: 7 ter, 11 quater, 12, 17 ter, 19 bis, 3: 3, 13, 15, 16, 19 bis, 20 ter, 21 bis, 22 bis etc. Mark 2.

B. In Shueihu B it is likewise very common, e. g. 72: 73 *an:9 san1 ko-9* »we three»; 73: 79 *an:9 men9 sün:41 k'ok40 tien-53* »let us find an inn». Other ex.: 73: 80, 81, 82 bis, 88, 75: 3, 8, 80: 83, 81: 3, 4, 5 ter, 6, 82: 31 bis, 36 bis, 83: 37, 43, 45 ter etc. Mark 2.

C. Siyu has only two stray examples (9: 16, 80: 7), thus mark 0.

D. Julin behaves very curiously in regard to this pronoun; it has *an:9* quite frequently in chapter 2 (18 cases) and a few more in chapters 3 and 7, but then no more. This would seem to suggest that parts of the novel have another author than the rest, but there are no other indications of heterogeneity. We shall record it thus 1 (0).

E—F. Hunglou A and Hunglou B lack it entirely, mark 0.



G. In Kinghua, on the contrary, *an:9* is very common indeed, with or without *men9*, e. g. 7: 7 *an:9 ye chi111 tao-162* »I also know«; 8: 4 *an:9 kia40 mei-38 tsī* »the younger sister in our family«; 8: 9 *an:9 men9 cheng-77 tsai p'an-109 wang-74* »we are just hoping«; Other ex.: 8: 2 quater, 3 quater, 8: 4, 5 bis, 7 ter, 8 ter, 9 bis, 9: 2 ter, 3 bis etc. Mark 2.

Thus one of the oldest texts, Shueihua and the youngest, Kinghua, here stand in contrast to the rest.

25. The personal pronoun *tsan:9* 俺 (*tsan:30* 咱) »we« with or without *men9*, current in modern Mandarin, occurs as follows:

A—D. Shueihu A and B, Siyu and Julin lack it entirely, mark 0.

E. Hunglou A has it exceedingly often, always with the *-men: tsan-men*, e. g. 6: 3 *tsan-men ts'un75 chuang140 jen9* »we people of the village«. Other ex.: 6: 3, 4 ter, 9, 15, 7: 5, 10, 11, 15, 17 ter, 18, 8: 10, 11, 9: 5, 7, 11, 12 etc. Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is likewise quite common, e. g. 81: 1 *tsan-men che-162 yang-75 jen9 kia40* »people like us«. Other ex.: 81: 2 bis, 3, 6, 94: 18, 20, 21, 95: 3, 96: 6, 12, etc. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua lacks it, mark 0.

Thus, this pronoun in its form *tsan* belongs exclusively to Hunglou (A and B). Yet cf. 26 next.

26. The personal pronoun *tsa:30* 咱 »we«, with or without *men9*, in modern Mandarin interchangeable with the *tsan* studied under 25, occurs thus:

A. Shueihu A has a few stray examples only (16: 3, 35: 19, 20), thus mark 0.

B. Shueihu B likewise has some isolated cases (85: 74, 103: 15, 109: 94), mark 0.

C. Siyu has one example only (17: 7), mark 0.

D. Julin again has one case (2: 24), mark 0.

E—F. Hunglou A and Hunglou B lack it entirely, mark 0.

G. Kinghua has a fairly considerable number of instances, most of them concentrated within a few chapters: ch. 54: 11 cases, ch. 59: 4 cases, ch. 60: 14 cases, ch. 72: 5 cases, ch. 94: 6 cases; stray cases 56 bis, 79: 1, 81: 10 bis etc.). Ex.: 52: 2 *tsa:30 mei-38 tsī k'ū-28 liao* »our younger sister has gone«; 90: 2 *tsa:9 men9 yit1 tsung:120* »we all«. Mark 2.

27. The particle *wut10* 兀, which does not pertain to Peking Mandarin, occurs in certain novels as a prefix of pronouns and in some other combinations. We find it as follows:

A. Shueihu A has it very frequently indeed, e. g. 3: 14 *wut10 na-163 Han-85 tsī* »you fellow there«; 22: 4 *wut10 na-163 kuan1 tao-162 shang-1 yu ko-9 siao:42 tsiu:164 tien-53* »on that main road there is a small wineshop«; 36: 4 *wut10 na-163 li:145* »there«; 47: 12 *wut10 na-163 p'o:38 niang38 tsou:156 na:163 li:145 k'ū-28* »where has that woman gone?«; 23: 39 *wut10 shuei:149 kiao-30 lao:125 niang38* »who is crying, old woman?«; 24: 2 *ni:9 tui-41 wo:62 shuot149 tik shī wut10 shuei:149* »the one of whom you speak to me, who is it?«; 36: 17 *ni:9 shuot149 wut10 shuei:149 ti-57*

*hiung10 liang:11 ko-9* »which two brothers did say?»; 11: 4 *siao:42 k'o wut10 tsī-132 k'i-75 wen67 tsiu-43 wu:77* »I have myself left the civil occupation and gone to the military»; 15: 12 *paik106 jūt72 li:145 wut10 tsī-132 ch'ut17 lai9* »he himself comes out in full daylight»; 22: 15 *ni:9 wut10 tsī-132 put chī111 li30* »do you not know it yourself?»; 22: 15 *wo:62 shen158 shang-1 wut10 tsī-132 yu hūet143 tsik157* »on my body there are (*wut tsī* =) still blood marks»; 29: 2 *wo:62 wut10 tsī-132 ta:64 sī:78 liao* »I myself killed him»; 32: 18 *ni:9 wut10 tsī-132 kan:66 kiao-30 li30* »do you still dare to shout?»; 10: 16 *wut10 tik106 put shī yit1 ko-9 jen9 lai9* »indeed is there not a man coming!»; 13: 6 *wut10 tik che-162 sī53 put shī Wang;96 siao:42 san1 mo* »indeed is not this fellow Wang Siao San?»; 15: 14 *wut10 tik put shī tai:78 jen9 lai9 liao* »really, isn't there a bad man coming!»; 25: 21 *wut10 tik lao:125 chu152 kou:94 t'ing128 chok* »really, you old beast should listen»; 50: 19 *wut10 tik shī shuei;149* »who is it really?» etc. Other ex.: 2: 2, 3: 3, 19: 4, 19: 5, 8, 9, 6: 2, 15: 11, 16: 4, 7, 8, 17: 3, 17, 18, 18: 1, 7, 20: 6, 21: 12 etc. Very common, mark 2.

B. Shueihu B, on the contrary, uses it very sparingly, as far as the combinations of Shueihu A above are concerned. Ex.: 73: 79 *wut10 tsī-132 yao liu102 t'a9* »she herself wants to retain him» (more *wut10 tsī-132*: 73: 80, 81, 75: 6, 77: 40, 83: 37, 94: 12, 110: 10); 77: 33 *wut10 na-163 li145* »there» (more *wut10 na-162* 90: 49, 53, 93: 84, 109: 93). Thus altogether 13 cases, and none of *wut10 shuei;149* and *wut10 tik*. But besides those there are 10 cases of the combination *wut10 shī* 是 »thus, like that», e. g. 93: 82 *wai-36 mien-176 sūet173 wut10 shī wei chī:77* »outside, the snow has like this failed to cease» (other cases: 91: 63, 94: 4, 98: 44, 45, 99: 69, 70, 103: 16, 104: 32, 33), a binome unknown in Shueihu A. We shall give it mark 1, but add an asterisk to remind that there is a special function (*wut10 shī*) of it in this text: mark 1\*.

C. Siyu has one isolated case (83: 14), thus mark 0.

D—G. Julin, Hunglou A and B and Kinghua all lack it completely, mark 0. Consequently, this curious feature is really limited to Shueihu.

28. Modern Mandarin frequently employs the interrogative binomes *to36 shao:42* »how much?» and *to36-mo* »how much?» and, as abbreviation, often only the *to36*, e. g. *to36 ta-37* »how great?», *to tsao:72 wan:72* »(how early or late =) when?», the latter often contracted into *to36 tsan* »when?». Now, whereas *to36 shao:42* is common in all the texts discussed here, and *to36-mo* occurs in none of them, the *to36* alone in this interrogative function occurs as follows:

A—B. Shueihu A and Shueihu B lack it entirely, mark 0.

C. In Siyu, on the contrary, it occurs not frequently but sufficiently often to be recognized as really belonging to the language of its author, e. g. 1: 6 *shuei:85 yu to36 shen85* »how deep is the water?»; 6: 6 *to36 ta-37 shou:64 tuan-79* »how great skill?»; 8: 7 *ho:85 yu to36 yüan:162* »how distant is the river?»; 23: 2 *hing;144 li:75 to36 chung-166* »how heavy is the luggage?». Other ex.: 4: 11, 15: 2, 16: 17, 17: 4, 20: 16, 30: 6, 32: 12, 14, 39: 7, 40: 9 etc. The instances barely suffice for a mark 1.

D. Julin has only three isolated cases (13: 217, 26: 429, 52: 401); thus mark 0.

E. Hunglou A has it to about the same extent as Siyu, particularly in the combination *to36 tsao:72 wan:72* (= *to-tsan*) »how soon, when?«. Ex.: 21: 3 *to36 tsao:72 wan:72 ts'ai;120 kai:66 ni30* »when will it be changed?»; 31: 18 *put chi111 to36 tsao:72 wan:72 tiu1 liao* »I do not know when I lost it»; 39: 9 *ni:9 kin9 nien51 to36 ta-37 nien51 ki-120* »how old are you this year?»; 52: 4 *che-162 chok167 ts'i neng to36 chung-166* »how heavy can this bracelet be?«. Other ex.: 5: 3, 6: 3, 8: 2, 14: 8, 18: 6, 25: 8, 26: 15, 31: 6, 40: 7, 45: 6, 9 etc. The instances are sufficient, but no more, for mark 1.

F. Hunglou B behaves like the preceding, e. g. 83: 20 *ni:9 to36 tsao:72 wan:72 lai9 tik* »when did you come?«. Other ex.: 87: 11, 88: 4, 90: 2, 93: 4, 97: 17, 101: 12, 109: 5, 113: 16 etc. Mark 1.

G. Kinghua has only three stray examples (64: 3, 70: 3, 79: 9). Mark 0.

Consequently, this feature is in the main restricted to Siyu and Hunglou (A and B).

29. The verb *kei* (*ki*):120 給 'to give', is exceedingly common in modern Mandarin, reduced to a preposition 'to', indicating the dative case, e. g. *wo:62 shuot149 kei t'a9* »I said it to him«, thus synonymous with the *yüü* 與 of literary Chinese (which latter, however, is also quite common in Mandarin). Its occurrence in our texts is as follows:

A—C. Shueihu A and B and Siyu lack it altogether, mark 0.

D. Julin has it, not frequently but fairly regularly, e. g. 2: 21 *kei ni:9ch'ao:86 ts'ai-140 ch'it30* »I have fried vegetables for you to eat»; 13: 221 *t'ung162 ko-9 sin-9 kei t'a9* »we have sent a letter to him»; 16: 256 *put mai-154 kei t'a9* »I did not sell it to him»; 25: 415 *kei t'a9 tso-9 ko-9 nü:38 sü-38* »to become a son-in-law to him»; 32: 77 *tsie-9 fang;63 ts'i kei t'a9 chu-9* »to lend him a house to live in»; 45: 293 *shuot149 kei ta-37 ko30 k'an-109* »I will tell it to you, my brother, so you can see«. Other ex.: 13: 219, 16: 256, 17: 275, 18: 295, 23: 381, 26: 425, 32: 70, 81, 33: 97, 36: 148, 38: 184, 40: 211, 42: 243, 244 etc. Hardly sufficient for mark 2, but fully so for mark 1.

E. In Hunglou A it is exceedingly common, e. g. 6: 17 *kei che-162 hai;39 tsi men9 tsok9 kien-9 tung15 yi145* »make some winter clothes for these children»; 8: 12 *kei wo:62 sie:40 wan;40 liao* »write it out for me»; 11: 4 *kei lao:125 ye;88 pai-64 shou-33* »to pay a birthday visit to the master»; 11: 13 *kei t'a9 liao-68 li:96* »arrange it for him»; 19: 4 *kei ni:9 tsok9 sik38 fu-38* »to be a wife to you»; 20: 9 *shü;72 ch'ang;50 shout149 kei ni:9* »I have always said to you«. Other ex.: 3: 8, 5: 2, 6: 12, 7: 15, 16, 8: 3, 7, 9: 13, 10: 6, 7 ter, 10: 8, 11: 3 etc. Mark 2.

F. In Hunglou B it is likewise very common, e. g. 82: 11 *kei ni:9 men9 ku38 niang38 tao-162 fei-154 sin61* »say thanks to your young lady»; 94: 13 *ni:9 men9 kei t'a9 k'op112 t'ou;181* »bow to him»; 94: 19 *kei wo:62 chao:64 ch'ut17 lai9* »find it for me«. Other ex.: 81: 11, 82: 1, 2, 5, 10, 83: 2, 11, 94: 5, 16, 19, 20, 95: 1, 8, 12, 14, 17, 96: 1, 2 etc. Mark 2.

G. Kinghua has it to about the same extent as Julin, e. g. 15: 5 *mai-156 kei yü;85 jen9* »we sell them to the fishermen»; 45: 11 *kei hien;154 mei-38 tso-9 pan-9* »to be a comrade to your sister»; 50: 9 *kei fu37 jen9 k'op112 t'ou;181* »bow to the lady»; 70: 7 *nien-64 kei chu mei-9 tsi:38 tsi:38 t'ing128* »I read it for all the sisters to hear». Other ex.: 3: 3, 8: 1, 2, 9: 4, 11: 4, 20: 8, 21: 2, 35: 2 bis, 36: 2, 43: 2, 46: 8, 51: 1 etc. Mark 1.

Thus, this *kei* is limited to the later novels.

30. In modern Mandarin, binomes formed with *pien162*, *mien-176* and *t'ou;181* are very common, e. g. *shang-1 pien162* »on the top»; *wai-36 mien-176* »outside», *li:145 t'ou;181* »inside». These all likewise occur in our novels. Combined with the demonstrative pronouns *che-162* and *na-163* e. g. *che-162 li:145 t'ou;181* »in here» they, again, occur both in modern colloquial and in the novels. We therefore disregard these applications. But besides those, modern Mandarin has them reduced to mere postpositions used with nouns, e. g. *chok75 tsi shang-1 pien162* »on the table», *fang;63 tsi li:145 t'ou;181* »in the room». This function of the binomes in question occurs as follows:

A. Shueihu A has only three stray examples (6: 4, 9: 5, 17: 6), thus mark 0.

B. Shueihu B lacks it entirely, mark 0.

C. Siyu has only three stray cases (30: 13, 36: 6, 77: 10), thus mark 0.

D. Julin has a few more sporadic instances (2: 23, 12: 193, 23: 373, 43: 262, 45: 285, 53: 408), but still not enough for more than a mark 0.

E. In Hunglou A it occurs, but not frequently, and, curiously, there are no instances in the first half of the book. Ex.: 39: 10 *yüan;31 tsi li:145 t'ou;181* »in the garden»; 47: 13 *tsai peik21 men169 wai-36 t'ou;181* »outside the northern gate»; 67: 4 *put tsai huo-154 chang-50 li:145 mien-176* »it is not in the ware-lisr»; 75: 14 *ts'iang;90 wai-36 pien162* »outside the wall». Other ex.: 36: 8, 37: 17, 39: 2, 41: 14, 42: 2, 4, 43: 13, 46: 6, 18 etc. The examples are just sufficiently numerous to warrant mark 1,

F. In Hunglou B it likewise has a restricted use, e. g. 83: 12 *kung40 li:145 t'ou;181* »in the palace»; 86: 15 *lin75 yen46 li:145 mien-176* »in the woods and cliffs»; 102: 2 *mei109 yen:109 et10 shang-1 t'ou;181* »above the eyes». Other ex.: 81: 14, 17, 86: 8, 9, 88: 2, 15, 92: 5 bis, 94: 2, 97: 5, 99: 2 etc. Mark 1.

G. Kinghua has only three sporadic cases (62: 8, 67: 7, 88: 12). Mark 0.

Thus, this important feature is almost entirely limited to Hunglou (A and B).

31. In modern Mandarin there is an exceedingly common construction with a principal verb coupled with one or two accessory verbs, e. g. *na64 lai9* (bring come =) »bring here», *t'i;64 k'i:156 lai9* (lift raise come =) »to lift up». But in Pekinese, at least, it is not normal to have *tsiang41* 將 as one of the accessory verbs. In the novels, on the contrary, *tsiang41* occurs combined with one or two accessory verbs:

A. In Shueihu A this is very common indeed, e. g. 2: 15 *sung-162 tsiang41 fu:53 li:145 k'ü-28* »sent it to the prefecture»; 4: 19 *kun:85 tsiang41 hia-1 k'ü-28* »to roll down»; 7: 5 *put shi ni:9 tsok9 tsiang41 ch'ut17 lai9 tik* »it was not done by you»;

7: 8 *k'ü-28 ts'ing:149 tsiang41 lai9* »go and invite him»; 8: 6 *pat64 tsiang41 ch'ut17 lai9* »to pull out»; 10: 17 *kan:156 tsiang1 k'ü-28* »(if I) follow after»; 14: 4 *tang-140 tsiang41 kuo-162 k'ü-28* »move over»; 15: 4 *kiep19 tsiang41 k'ü-28* »to rob away»; 16: 5 *jen9 che-162 pan137 shuot149 tsiang41 lai9* »people speak like this»; 22: 15 *ni:9 tsou:156 tsiang41 hia-1 lai9* »you are walking down»; 23: 31 *wo:62 k'üek26 tsou:156 tsiang41 kuo-162 k'ü-28* »but I walked over there»; 46: 2 *nao-191 tsiang41 k'i:156 lai9* »I started brawling»; 46: 5 *p'ao:157 tsiang41 huei:31 lai9* »he run back», etc. Scores of examples. Mark 2.

B. Shueihu B has it just as frequently, e. g. 73: 78 *yün-162 tsiang41 jup11 lai9* »he transported it inside»; 73: 81 *t'iao-157 tsiang41 ch'ut17 lai9* »he jumped out»; 73: 83 *p'ien-187 tsiang41 k'ü-28 liao* »it was cheated away»; 81: 12 *ken157 tsiang41 tsin-162 lai9* »follow me in!»; 82: 16 *jang-66 tsiang41 huei:31 lai9* »he let him return»; 83: 41 *kan:156 tsiang41 kuo-162 k'ü-28* »he came hurrying over»; 84: 58 *ta:64 tsiang41 jup11 k'ü-28* »go to attack»; 84: 61 *ch'ai47 tsiang41 t'a9 lai9* »we shall send them on»; etc. Mark 2.

C. In Siyu it is likewise very common, e. g. 2: 9 *t'iao-157 tsiang41 k'i:156 lai9* »jump up»; 3: 2 *pan64 tsiang41 k'ü-28* »to transport away»; 5: 10 *ta-37 sheng-128 tsou:156 tsiang41 ch'ut17 lai9* »the great sage came walking out»; 13: 3 *na64 tsiang41 lai9* »bring it here!»; 20: 17 *kan:156 tsiang41 che-162 li:145 lai9* »he comes rushing here»; 22: 4 *pa:64 t'a9 yin:57 tsiang41 ch'ut17 lai9* »lead him out»; 25: 5 *fei183 tsiang41 ch'ut17 k'ü-28* »fly out»; 27: 8 *tsou:156 tsiang41 lai9* »he comes walking»; 34: 10 *kot18 tsiang41 hia-1 lai9* »cut it off». Other ex.: 2: 15, 3: 11, 15: 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 17: 12, 20: 17 bis, 21: 6, 22: 3, 25: 10, 16, 26: 15 etc. Mark 2.

D. Julin has only two isolated cases (7: 113, 11: 179), thus mark 0.

E. Hunglou A has only one case (5: 22), thus mark 0.

F. Hunglou B has likewise one example (107: 5), mark 0.

G. Kinghua lacks it entirely, mark 0.

Consequently, this interesting feature is limited to Shueihu (A and B) and Siyu.

32. One of the most frequent auxiliaries for denoting agent and passive voice in modern Mandarin is the word *pei-145* properly »to be covered by, to be exposed to»; as example was given, above, *wo:62 pei-145 t'a9 ta:64 liao* »I was (exposed to beating =) beaten by him», *wo:62 pei-145 ta:64 liao* »I was beaten». Now, certain novel texts employ, as an auxiliary perfectly synonymous with *pei-145*, the word *ch'it* 喫 »to eat», i. e. »to swallow, to suffer, to experience» (cf. the common expression *ch'it30 k'u:140* »to suffer bitterness, to be maltreated»). The parallelism may be best illustrated by these cases: Shueihu A 65: 4 *pei-145 t'a9 ch'i:61 siao-118* »I will be ridiculed by him»; Shueihu A 22: 11 *ch'it30 t'a9 ch'i:61 siao-118* »I will be ridiculed by him»; Shueihu A 50: 13 *pei-145 t'a9 tsou:156 liao* »I was left by him», *ibid.* 50: 12 *ch'it30 Lei173 Heng75 tsou:156 liao* »I was left by Lei Heng». We find this element as follows:

A. Shueihu A has it very often indeed, e. g. 4: 12 *ko30 ko30 ch'it ta:64 huai-32 liao* »the elder brother was beaten so he was injured»; 4: 13 *ch'it30 na-163 si27*

*tsiu*64 *chu*-9 »I was seized by that fellow»; 4: 19 *ch'it*30 *na*-163 *si*27 *men*9 *chuang*-64 *kien*-147 »I will be seen by those fellows»; 20: 5 *wo*:62 *ch'it*30 *che*-162 *p'o*:38 *tsi* *ting*167 *chu*-9 *liao* »I have been nailed down by this woman»; 23: 4 *ta*-37 *ch'ung*:142 *ch'it*30 *t'a*9 *ta*:64 *tao*:9 *liao* »the great beast was knocked over by him»; 24: 4 *wo*:62 *ch'it*30 *na*-163 *lao*:125 *chu*94 *kou*:94 *ta*:64 *liao* »I was beaten by that old (pig-dog =) beast»; 30: 17 *ch'it* *jen*9 *chok*64 *liao* »you will be caught by people». Other ex.: 6: 15, 13: 4, 14: 12, 13, 15: 19, 16: 13, 20, 22, 18: 11, 20: 11, 23: 5, 7, 14, 15, 21, 28, 24: 11, 25: 14, 15, 27: 5 etc. Mark 2.

B. Shueihu B, on the contrary, has only a few sporadic cases e. g. 116: 11 *p'a*-61 *ch'it*30 *t'a*9 *na*64 *k'u*-28 »I am afraid to be carried off by him». But there are in all only 6 stray examples (73: 83, 74: 101, 78: 50, 102: 5, 120: 76), and we have to register mark 0.

C. Siyu has only two stray examples (2: 14, 25: 12), thus mark 0.

D—G. Julin, Hunglou A, Hunglou B and Kinghua all lack it entirely, mark 0.

This most interesting feature is thus limited to Shueihu A.

Besides the phenomena discussed above there are various features in regard to which a comparison between modern Mandarin and the colloquial in the dialogues of the novels would be very interesting. We shall point out here only a few examples.

33. In Peking Mandarin it is quite common that the postposition *li*:145 is replaced by 'r (*er*10) 兒 when combined with the pronouns *che*-162, *na*-163 and *na*:163, e. g. (*tsai*) *che*-162 'r »here», (*tsai*) *na*-163 'r »there», (*tsai*) *na*:163 'r »where?». This feature is entirely lacking in all our novel texts.

34. In modern Mandarin *kiao*-30 叫 is employed as auxiliary for denoting the agent with passive voice, e. g. *t'a*9 *kiao*-30 *wo*:62 *ta*:64 *liao* »he was beaten by me». This is an important and frequently occurring element. In our novels it is missing.

35. In modern Mandarin the word *kan*:156 趕 »to drive, to pursue, catch up with» is frequently reduced to a conjunction meaning »when», e. g. *kan*:156 *t'a*9 *lai*9 »when he comes»; *kan*:156 *h'uek*39 *h'uei*-73 *liao* »when he had learnt it so he knew it», etc. This feature is completely absent in our novel texts.

36. The verb *kie*:148 解 is, in modern Mandarin, sometimes reduced to a preposition = »from», e. g. *t'a*9 *kie*:148 *kia*40 *li*:145 *lai*9 »he comes from home». This phenomenon is completely unknown in our novel dialogues.

37. A very common synonym of *hen*:60 »very» is, in modern Mandarin, the word *ting*:181 頂 (properly: »top»), e. g. *ting*:181 *hao*:38 »it is very good». This is entirely lacking in our novels.

38. We have already pointed out (under 28 above) that *to*36-*mo* »how (much)» e. g. *to*36-*mo* *ta*37 »how big?», which is common in modern Pekinese, does not occur in our novels.

It would be easy to prolong the list of criteria, but those studied above suffice for our purpose. The results of the inquiry are summed up in the table at the end of the article. There are several interesting observations to be made.

In the first place — and this is the most important — there is a most surprising divergence in regard to the system of grammatical features between these texts. Their dialogues are all written in an idiomatic and vigorous *pai hua*, colloquial, but no two of them (except Hunglou A and B) are exactly alike in grammar. The differences are sometimes very strong and striking.

The study of modern Mandarin dialects has hitherto been almost entirely limited to the phonetic side: the pronunciation of the ordinary word stock in the various dialects. Even in this respect, the investigations have so far been of very modest scope. The grammatical divergences in the various Mandarin dialects have never been subject to systematic researches. An enormous field of inquiry is here awaiting the Chinese linguists. But our survey above also shows that it will be quite necessary to investigate the whole extensive *pai hua* literature of Ming and Ts'ing times from this point of view, in order to obtain a solid historical foundation to build on for a more comprehensive investigation of the Mandarin dialects than a mere examination of their phonetics. Our few texts treated above, though mere samples and though only investigated in regard to three dozen grammatical features, will have sufficed to reveal a dialectal variation that points the way for future inquirers and gives promise of the most interesting linguistic results.

In the second place, our table will reveal certain interesting facts concerning the most important texts: Shueihu and Hunglou.

As recorded at the beginning of this article, opinions differ among scholars as to whether Shueihu B was really written by the same author as Shueihu A and undeservedly rejected by Kin167 Sheng128 t'an-76, or whether it was written by a different author (or authors) and falsely linked on to Shueihu A by some late Ming redactor. Our grammatical data may serve to elucidate this question.

Shueihu B consists of four cycles of tales: the war against Liao, the tales about T'ien Hu, those about Wang K'ing and those about Fang Lie. Even those four need not necessarily derive from one and the same author. But our grammatical survey clearly shows that the Ming redactor who has arranged them into a single whole and adjoined them to the Shueihu A has *tried* to normalize the language of their dialogues so as to make it agree with that of the Shueihu A. But he has failed in several respects. There are some highly revealing discrepancies. He has not observed the rôle played by and therefore failed to introduce, such important features as the conjunctions *yin31 wei* (criterion 12 above) and *wei yin31* (crit. 13), the pronominal binome *wut10 shuei;149* (crit. 27) and, still more important, the curious construction of an affirmative clause used as interrogative (criterion 3 above), which is exceedingly common in Shueihu A. Its absence in Shueihu B is really decisive. He has furthermore failed to observe that the suffixed *er10* in his B texts is much less common than in Shueihu A, and that he should have given it a stronger position. On the other hand, he has introduced features quite non-existent in Shueihu A. One of them: the binome *wut10 shī* we have already studied under



crit. 27. Another such aberrant feature is the use of the plural particle *mei:80* 每 instead of the ordinary *men9*, e. g. 90:5 *an:9 mei:80* »we»; 92: 76 *wo:62 mei:80* »we»; 93: 83 *t'a9 mei:80* »they»; 95: 20 *ni:9 mei:80* »you». There are altogether 35 cases of this. Particularly revealing is the fact that all the *wut10 shi* and *x-mei:80* occur in the chapters 90—109, i. e. in the middle of the book: the redactor has been more careful in normalizing his text after the pattern of Shueihu A at the beginning (chapters 71—89) and at the end (chapters 110—120), but more careless in the middle section, where some features foreign to the Shueihu A have escaped from being eradicated.

Briefly: the grammatical analysis confirms that Shueihu B does not properly belong together with Shueihu A as the creation of one and the same author.

The solution of the Hunglou A and B problem will be quite different. As already stated in the beginning of this paper, it has become almost a handbook doctrine that Hunglou B was written by Kao Ok (in the beginning of the 1790's) and falsely passed on by him as a part of the original Hunglou and hooked on to the Hunglou A. Our grammatical analysis has shown, however, that Hunglou B adheres in a most remarkably faithful way to the grammar of Hunglou A, which grammar is well attested by the Ts'i version, well before Kao's time. On point after point the grammatical features occur identical in the two texts.<sup>1)</sup> And this is really conclusive. We have witnessed how exceedingly heterogeneous in regard to grammar the five prominent novels studied above have turned out to be. It was no easy matter to write a spurious sequel to a famous novel and imitate its dialogue colloquial in all points: there would almost unfailingly be tell-tale divergences which would give the faker away, as in the case of Shueihu B above. If Hunglou B was the creation of Kao Ok, it would require, either that he was a compatriot (almost from the same district) of Ts'ao Süe-k'in's and spoke exactly the same dialect, in all the particulars studied above; or that he was a linguistic genius with an imitative ability of almost unheard-of acumen. Both surmises are so improbable that they can safely be rejected. The absolute fidelity in the grammatical agreement between Hunglou A and Hunglou B conclusively shows that the latter was written by the same author as the former. Possible discrepancies between the two in regard to the content are probably due to corruption and interpolations in the course of the text transmission.

<sup>1)</sup> It should be added that the second print in 1792 made by Ch'eng Wei-yüan and Kao Ok, though modified and »corrected» on a great many points, and particularly often in regard to the adverbs and auxiliaries, gives nothing new or aberrant in point of grammar from their first print, on which our analysis is based. The difference is quantitative and not qualitative: where the first print had *jok* »if», *yüü* »to (dative)», *ho* »why», *ju ho* »show», *ki ju ts'í* »in these circumstances», the second print has »corrected» them into *yao* »if», *kei* »to», *wei shenmo* »why», *tsenmo* »show», *che-162 mo chok* »in these circumstances» — but all the latter (*yao*, *kei*, *wei shenmo*, *tsenmo*, *che-mo chok*) already occurred frequently in the version of the first print, so that nothing really new, in principle, has been introduced through the version of the second print.

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	Shuei A	Shuei B	Si	Ju	Hung A	Hung B	King
1. <i>k'o</i> interrogative .....	0	0	1	2	2	2	1
2. <i>lai put lai?</i> .....	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
3. question in affirm. form ..	2	0	2	2	2	2	0
4. final <i>ni</i> .....	0	0	0	0 (1)	2	2	2
5. <i>er</i> on nouns .....	2	1	2	1 (0)	2	2	2
6. <i>er</i> on time adverbs .....	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
7. <i>meit yu</i> 'not have' .....	0	0	2	2	2	2	0
8. <i>meit yu</i> perfective .....	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
9. <i>piet</i> 'don't' .....	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
10. <i>yao</i> ( <i>shì</i> ) 'if' .....	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
11. <i>jok</i> .... <i>shì</i> ;72 .....	2	2	1	0	0 (1)	0	0
12. <i>yin wei</i> .....	1	0	1	0	2	2	0
13. <i>wei yin</i> .....	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
14. <i>wei shenmo</i> .....	0	0	0	2	2	2	0
15. <i>tseimo</i> .....	0 (1)	0 (1)	2	2	2	2	2
16. <i>che-mo, na-mo</i> .....	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
17. <i>che-mo-chok</i> etc. ....	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
18. <i>shen</i> 'which' .....	2	2	2	2	0	0	2
19. <i>so yi</i> .....	0	0 (1)	2	2	2	2	2
20. <i>k'o</i> 'but' .....	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
21. <i>hien-tsai</i> .....	0	0	0	0	1 (0)	1	2
22. <i>er kin</i> 'now' .....	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
23. <i>hen</i> 'very' .....	0	0	0	1 (0)	2	2	1 (0)
24. <i>an</i> 'I, we' .....	2	2	0	1 (0)	0	0	2
25. <i>tsan</i> 'we' .....	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
26. <i>tsa</i> 'we' .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
27. <i>wut</i> 10 .....	2	1*	0	0	0	0	0
28. <i>to</i> 'show much' .....	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
29. <i>kei</i> 'to' .....	0	0	0	1	2	2	1
30. <i>li-t'ou</i> etc. ....	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
31. <i>tsiang</i> access. verb .....	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
32. <i>ch'it</i> 'by' .....	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
33. <i>che-r</i> 'here' etc. ....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34. <i>kiao</i> -30 'by' .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35. <i>kan</i> 'when' .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36. <i>kie</i> 'from' .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37. <i>ting</i> 'very' .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
38. <i>to-mo</i> .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

# POTTERY AND STONEWARES OF SHANG, CHOU AND HAN

BY

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## INTRODUCTION.

It hardly can be doubted that Shang and Chou were, above all, the great ages of bronze and jade. A good deal has been said and written about these important fields of Chinese art, so that we are not unfamiliar with the subject. Eclipsed by their brilliant contemporaries, the potteries of the early historic periods, inconspicuous and simple as they are, were ignored. Little information has been available about them and little interest in them has ever been expressed.

When during my years of residence in China I first came across Shang and Chou potteries, nothing of any consequence had been published and but scant information could be obtained. The circumstance of an important phase of early Chinese culture awaiting exploration was a great temptation, and the archaic simplicity and humble beauty of some of the wares were a great additional inducement to become deeply interested in this sphere.

As an ardent student of the subject I was able to gather, in the course of fifteen years, a considerable amount of information. I was also fortunate in acquiring a sizable number of characteristic and even extraordinary early potteries, rarely missing a chance to secure an important piece that might form a new link in a fragmentary chain.

Without the possibility of examining the actual objects art research or archaeological investigations cannot be very promising. Close acquaintance with and continued comparison of the material is essential. Thus the opportunity of making a prolonged study of about half of the objects acquired by me in China and illustrated here was invaluable.

Knowledge of the ceramic field, which was so essential in the daily life of ancient man, will greatly round off our picture of the civilization of the early Chinese. While the appeal of wares of the post-Han periods was considerably enhanced by technical advancement and entrancing glazes, some of the Shang and Chou potters had attained a high level in the most basic aspect of ceramic art: form. Some of the forms they created are of an aesthetic perfection hardly surpassed in any later age.

Following a stage of almost complete oblivion of Shang and Chou wares, those seriously interested in Chinese art and culture seem to have become aware of the fact that the historical development of Chinese ceramics did not begin with the Han period. There has been a mounting interest in this field and an increasing number of post-neolithic, pre-Han potteries have widened the scope of well-known museum collections. After years of brave resistance, some public institutions and also private collectors appear to have succumbed to the archaic air — or perhaps merely the subtle charm — of these early wares. Thus it has been most gratifying to have had so substantial an amount of material available, without which the present study would have been far less comprehensive and far less conclusive.

## POTTERY OF THE SHANG PERIOD.

### MATERIAL.

The site of the ancient capital of the Shang or Yin Dynasty is situated at the village of Hsiao't'un, two miles north-west of Anyanghsien in Northern Honan. It was occupied by the Shang people during the latter part of the Shang period, from the reign of P'an Keng (1395 B. C.) until shortly after the end of Chou Hsin and the downfall of the dynasty (1122 B.C.).

According to its body material and colour Shang ware may be roughly divided into three categories:

#### 1. Grey ware:

In colour it ranges from very dark, smoky-grey to rather light, silver-grey. Its texture varies from finely levigated clay, generally used in making wheel-made vessels of better quality, to coarse material with an admixture of sand frequently used for cruder cooking vessels. Grey ware forms the over-whelming bulk of the pottery finds from Anyang and is encountered in all shapes. (Fig. 3—8, 10—35, 37—44).

#### 2. Red ware:

It is of brick-red or light brownish-red colour on the surface and grey in the core. The material is rather gritty and often has an admixture of sand. This is supposed to have prevented cracking in the fire. The shapes are mainly cooking vessels of coarser type. They were usually made with a mould or beater the marks of which were left untouched (Fig. 9).

#### 3. White ware:

It is of white colour with a very faint pinkish tinge. If fired at sufficiently high temperature it can be very hard and quite heavy. Made of kaolin or china clay, it actually marks the earliest appearance of porcelain in China. However, being

composed almost exclusively of kaolin, the white ware seems to lack the admixture of other substances which are necessary for proper cohesion. This accounts for its brittle and fragile nature and the fact that the finds consist almost entirely of fragments. White Shang ware is reported to have been found in the royal tombs of Anyang only. The vessels are beautifully potted and finished on the wheel. Both shapes and incised decoration were inspired by sacrificial bronzes and their ornamentation (Fig. 36).

### TECHNIQUE.

The uniform colour of the grey ware was produced by the «yin yao» or imbibing method. When the fire had died down upon completion of the baking process, alternate layers of wet straw and earth were placed on top of the kiln, over which small quantities of water were poured at intervals. Thus, the atmosphere of the kiln became saturated with moisture<sup>1</sup>).

In the making of larger vessels the beater method, peculiar to the Hsiaot'un site and still practiced today in North China, was widely used. Upon rough fashioning of a vessel's body the required thickness of its wall was achieved by use of the beater, an oblong piece of wood with string wound around it. At the same time a pad covered with cloth or leather was pressed against the inside of the vessel<sup>2</sup>). During the trimming process the string-impressions were often obliterated. Mouth and ring-foot were always done on the wheel.

Ring-building, the method of employing coils, was used to a much lesser extent and apparently only for larger vessels. Moulding seems to have been a common practice.

The wheel was used extensively and most of the finer vessels, particularly the smaller ones, were made entirely on the wheel or the lower part was begun by the beater or mould method and the rest of the vessel was then done on the wheel. This accounts for the string-impressions — sometimes partly obliterated — on the convex of bowls and jars with ring-foot, while the characteristic striae of the wheel are clearly noticeable all over the vessel.

The surface of many of the finer vessels made by the beater or mould method was polished. Wheel-made wares were burnished on the wheel.

### SHAPE.

Anyang, far more than any other historic site in China, has yielded a considerable amount of diverse material, so that today we are in a position to form a fairly accurate picture of the ceramic art of the Shang people.

There exists a great variety of shapes in Shang pottery. The basic forms are cooking and libation vessels, bowls, jars and beakers. Some show close resemblance

to contemporary bronze shapes, others indicate modification or transformation of such metal shapes into ceramic forms of noble proportions, while certain types appear to be purely ceramic in feeling and origin.

Perhaps the most peculiar and most persistent shape in early Chinese pottery is the Li tripod, a cooking vessel with three hollow, udder-like legs. It was in wide use from early neolithic to late Chou times. During the prehistoric period we find a great diversity of Li shapes. The best known type is of grey, mat-impressed pottery, with long legs and a flat handle connecting the slightly everted rim with the body. A number of such vessels were unearthed at Yangshaots'un, Puchaochai and other sites in the Miench'ih district of Western Honan<sup>3</sup>). Rather unusual forms are found in red pottery. One kind has a depressed globular body with short, widely bulging legs and low vertical rim (Fig. 1). Almost its antitype is the high, strikingly slender vessel on three long, spindle-shaped, sharply pointed legs. A flat broad handle is placed very low on the body, which shows a distinct division between a lower section, where the legs join and an upper, slender, tubular part ending in a flaring mouth pinched together to form a spout (Fig. 2<sup>4</sup>). The formation of legs and lower body seems to lend definite support to the theory that the early tripods originated from three pointed-bottom jars<sup>5</sup>) leaning together over a fire.

The great diversity of shapes in tripods during the neolithic era may be attributed partly to the large area involved reaching from Manchuria in the east to Kansu in the west, and partly to the long span of time covered by this early age. The tripod of the Shang period, on the other hand, is limited to one area: Anyang and the Shang domain, and to a time span of less than three centuries. Thus it is not surprising that it shows little variety. The two basic forms appear to be one (smooth or mat-impressed) with hollow legs slightly curved inward and wide, flaring mouth (Fig. 3, 4). The other (usually mat-marked) has bulging, hollow legs with solid, pointed feet attached. The rim is sometimes of angular type and more elaborate specimens are adorned with crenelated clay bands (Fig. 5, 6).

The type of Shang vessel encountered most frequently in pottery as well as in bronze is the Chüeh tripod or libation cup. The ceramic Chüeh was greatly simplified and assumed sturdier outlines than the bronze example. The most common kind has a small, globular lower body separated from the flaring upper body by a ridge around the waist. The mouth has been extended into a simple beaker spout (Fig. 7). A rarer kind has a bulging, sack-like body, contracted towards the mouth. On either side of the spout, astride the rim, are placed two small rolls in lieu of the knobs of the bronze model (Fig. 8).

While the Ting tripods found at Yangshaots'un and Puchaochai<sup>6</sup>) are clear proof that this important form originated in neolithic pottery and inspired the bronze vessels of subsequent epochs, the Shang and Chou pottery Ting bears a close resemblance to the contemporary bronze variety. The vessel in Fig. 9 shows a deep bowl with beater marks on the under side and with wide, everted lip. It is

supported by three solid legs over each of which there is a segmented flange. In the center of each section between these flanges there is a round boss.

The object in Fig. 10 is of unusual form. Similar Shang vessels on four legs, surmounted by a «free animal's head»<sup>7)</sup> are known to us in bronze, white marble and jade.<sup>8)</sup> They all have four cylindrical containers in quadrangular arrangement opening towards the flat top of the object. In the bronze variety the containers end in pointed legs, while in those of marble and jade, which have low rectangular feet, they are drilled into the solid block of stone forming the vessel's body. In our ceramic example, the only one known in this medium, the four tubular openings have been replaced by a perforated cross (of the same kind as are found on the waist of certain bronze Ku). It is cut through the flat top, which is surrounded on three sides by the vessel's vertical walls. The angular legs are formed by a junction of the side walls. The animal's neck, which is long in the other media, has been shortened here, while the head — here clearly a bull's head — has been enlarged and elongated. It has clearly cut horns, ears, eyes, and nostrils. There is an incised zig-zag band on three sides and a vertical column of chevrons on the front of each leg.

An important group of Shang pottery consists of bowls. In shape they range from shallow ones with white flaring side (Fig. 11) to deep ones with straight or slightly contracted side (Fig. 20). They generally have a flaring ring-foot of considerable height. An exception is the large, Min-shaped bowl, whose foot contracts slightly towards the base. The latter is of the same angular nature as the vessel's rim. (Fig. 16). The bowl in Fig. 19 has an extraordinary foot: flaring more widely than usual its rim turns up and back at a sharp angle. This feature is not observed in any other piece.

There are three types of mouth-rims to be found on bowls: 1. Smoothly rounded (Fig. 15, 17, 20), 2. «Square-angular» with flat upper surface and flat or slightly concave side (Fig. 14, 16, 19), 3. «Pointed-angular» with sharp edge on top as well as on the side (Fig. 13). There are also flatter and steeper variants of type 3 (Fig. 11, 12, 18). Type 3 is almost invariably found on specimens with string-impressed exterior. In rare instances «free animals' heads» in bronze style may be found on bowls as in Fig. 13, which has three such appliqué masks.

Small fragmentary bowls with steep side and shallow lid with knob have been found in white Shang pottery.<sup>9)</sup> There are also Min, shallow-bottomed, steep-sided bowls on high, wide stem with flaring base — the predecessors of the Tou shape of the Chou period.

Aside from the Chüeh tripod spouted vessels are extremely rare. In both the jar with flat base, angular shoulder and high collar and the bowl with high foot, steep side and angular handle we find a pronounced beak spout (Fig. 25, 21). The ewer with low foot-rim, angular handle and lid with flaring knob has a tubular spout projecting from the ovoid body (Fig. 22).



The bulk of the ceramic finds at Anyang consists of jars. Some are made by the beater method and have a fairly thick body, like the large jar of Lei shape (Fig. 23) and the round-bottom jar with very wide neck (Fig. 24).

Of very unusual shape is the shallow vessel with slanting, angular shoulder, from which the steep side descends vertically and then merges in smooth transition with the wide, rounded base. There is a slightly flaring mouth and there are strong lateral handles (now damaged), which probably were pierced vertically (Fig. 26).

A type most commonly met are jars with flat, narrow base, wide body, slanting, angular shoulder and flaring mouth (Fig. 27). The larger ones have two horizontally pierced «ears». Smaller ones may have unperforated lugs or merely two or three round bosses. The big jar with everted neck has a straight lip, which combination is a rare feature in Shang pottery. It is further distinguished by two powerful, angular handles forming bulls' heads with raised ears and horns, carved eyes and nostrils (Fig. 28).

An important group is formed by jars with a ring-foot. The best-known type among these are vessels with more or less globular body, flaring foot and high neck contracted towards the slightly everted mouth. An example of the angular variety of this class is the jar with short, straight side, slanting underside and cylindrical foot, descending vertically and then spreading abruptly. It has a sloping shoulder and a high collar decorated in typical Shang fashion with many incised grooves. There are two small lugs, pierced vertically as is always the case with ring-foot jars (Fig. 29). A very large vessel exemplifying the rounded version has an almost globular body of very smooth outline, with the shoulder just sufficiently flattened to form an effective link between the body with its zig-zag border and the very wide neck with its simple incised lines. In contrast to the latter the high foot, pierced in bronze fashion by holes corresponding to the lateral position of the «ears», is extremely slender, flaring out in a graceful curve and ending in a slightly rolled rim. All these elements as well as the sharply cut, vertically pierced side handles add up to a sophisticated outline of great elegance (Fig. 30).

Two other forms are rather uncommon. One is of very massive build with slanting, slightly angular shoulder, short neck and extremely wide and rather low foot (Fig. 31). The other has very graceful proportions, flaring mouth, and side curving in gently from the wide, angular shoulder towards the small, high spreading foot. The sloping shoulder is embellished with concentric groups forming five smoothly rounded ridges, the center one of which bears an impressed border of S-spirals. The body is decorated very effectively with two bands of vertical string impressions (Fig. 32).

In white Shang ware we find cover jars on ring-foot with bulbous body curving inward towards a wide neck with slightly flaring mouth.<sup>10)</sup>

The tallest pottery vessels from Anyang are generally in the form of Lei, the largest sacrificial bronzes for storing wine. They all have an ovoid body, flat base,

straight neck of medium height, and lateral handles pierced horizontally as on all jars with flat base. Originally, they probably all had lids. One kind becomes rather wide towards the shoulder. Usually it has only two handles. They may sit very low on the shoulder, as in the case of certain neolithic potteries, and sometimes may have a pentagonal cross section (Fig. 33). The entire body is covered with ornamentation consisting of incised bands of triangles, lozenges, and parallel zig-zag decor set off against a string-impressed background (Fig. 34). Another kind of pottery Lei, closer to the actual bronze form, has steeper sides and in addition to the two shoulder handles has an identical one in the lower center of the front, not far from the base. One vessel with high shoulder has sharply angular handles and is decorated with large, hanging triangles filled with fine criss-cross string-impressions (Fig. 35).

Another, of white Shang pottery, is the best-known and most perfectly preserved example of this fragile ware. The body is covered in its entirety with parallel zig-zag bands of alternating plain and meander type. The shoulder is incised with a dissolved dragon motif and fine background filling (Fig. 36).

Apart from the Lei type, tall vessels in the style of bronzes used for storing wine appear to be very rare. The one shown in Fig. 37 seems to be the only exception known. While it obviously is close to the Shang Hu, one of the most beautiful bronze forms, it has at the same time attained a strongly ceramic character. The gently curved body is smooth and slightly lustrous. Horizontal striations from the burnishing process add to the ceramic touch. The only decorative element is a plain, raised band breaking up the large area of body and neck and connecting the sharply cut «ears». These are perforated vertically and lifted slightly upwards. The high and very wide foot and the flaring top of the lid are pierced by holes corresponding to the lateral position of the «ears».

A group of important, though rather rare, vessels are the various forms of beakers, which are among the most appealing creations of the Shang potter. Some are obviously inspired by bronze models, while others appear to have truly ceramic forms. The decoration — whenever there is any — is always simple and ceramic in nature. No attempt is made at copying the elaborate cast designs on bronzes. All vessels in the beaker class have in common a wide, more or less flaring mouth, often grooved inside in the finer examples. They also have a ring-foot of sometimes considerable height, since it often reaches up to the central extension of the body.

There is a small type with somewhat heavy outline and steep, slightly angular shoulder. Sometimes it is plain, sometimes decorated with a simple design (Fig. 39). Of more graceful form, an obvious copy of a bronze Ku, is the slender beaker with wide flaring mouth. There are three flanges on the raised band around the vessel's waist (Fig. 40). Inspired by the bronze form Chih is the vase with bulbous body, contracted neck and slightly everted mouth (Fig. 38).

A group of large vessels is in type and size related to the bronze shape Tsun. They are particularly rare and of the four shown here the first, third, and fourth

are the only ones of their kind known to have been found. A beaker of straight Tsun form is seen in Fig. 41. It has a decor of impressed square spirals around the extension of the waist, adding a graceful note. The vessel in Fig. 42, thinly potted and highly burnished, has a strong outline and no doubt represents one of the most interesting and sophisticated forms of Shang pottery. The extension of the waist has been lowered considerably and the former contraction above the waist no longer exists. Now there is merely a gentle inward curve swaying outward again towards the mouth, whose diameter is almost the same as that of waist and foot rim. The foot is very high and almost cylindrical. It echoes faintly the larger curve of the main body and spreads at the base with sharp eversion. The decoration, apart from some incised lines on the foot, consists of three bands of finely incised, very slender chevrons, bordered by ridges on both sides. There are two segmented flanges and two bosses in alternating arrangement on each band. In the beaker in Fig. 43 the diameters of waist extension and foot rim approximate each other in size. Foot and body are more contracted and far more slender than on the preceding piece. The body widens slightly towards the top and then extends outward in a sudden curve. There are alternating double and triple groups of incised lines around body and foot and a band of plain triangles on string-impressed background on the extension of the waist. In the chalice in Fig. 44, a vessel of almost Egyptian proportions, the transformation from rigid bronze forms to an organic form that might have been inspired by the blossom of a flower is complete. There is no central bulge. Compared with the preceding examples, the foot is low and spreads sharply from the base of the body. The latter grows upward, widens in a graceful curve, and then opens up like a flower. The broad band of fine criss-cross mat-impressions around the lower body and the two raised bands underneath the extension of the mouth are perfectly placed to add grace and elegance.

#### DECORATION.

The decoration of Shang ware may be divided into three types: 1. Incised or carved; 2. Impressed or stamped; 3. Applied.

##### 1. Incised or carved:

The simplest form of incised decoration and one that constitutes a major characteristic of Shang pottery rarely lacking on any specimen are the wheel-made lines or grooves around the body of the vessel. In some cases there may only be two and in others a great many (Fig. 3, 7, 11, 13—17, 19, 21, 22, 26—31, 33—43). Frequently deeper furrows are carved and the spaces in between carefully beveled off to form rounded ridges (Fig. 12, 18, 20, 32, 44).

A large proportion of Shang potteries are embellished with bands of ornaments incised with a stylus. The simplest of these designs are narrow, horizontal borders

of short, vertical lines. Then there are bands of chevrons of all types: in horizontal position forming a horizontal border (Fig. 14), in vertical position forming a vertical border (Fig. 10), and again in a horizontal border in vertical position, very slender and close together (Fig. 42). On string-impressed background chevrons are found far apart (Fig. 43) or in double outline in alternating up and downward position (Fig. 13).

Horizontal borders of triangles occur interlocked in alternating plain and string-impressed fields (Fig. 34), and there are rows of large, hanging triangles filled with very fine, cross-hatched string-impressions (Fig. 35).

Quite common is the criss-cross motif, forming narrow, horizontal borders of cross-hatched lines (Fig. 15, 16, 18). The design most frequently encountered is the zig-zag border of single, double or triple lines (Fig. 10, 17, 27, 29, 30, 38, 39). On larger jars it is found in parallel combinations of alternating plain and string-impressed bands (Fig. 33, 34) and on white pottery plain and filled with incised meander (Fig. 36).

Finally there are bands of lozenges in double outline on string-impressed background, usually found in conjunction with bands of triangles and parallel zig-zag borders covering large jars (Fig. 33, 34).

All these simple patterns are quite ceramic in nature. While some of them are found on painted neolithic pottery from Kansu as well as in somewhat different form on bronze vessels, they can not be called exclusive bronze motifs. The white pottery of Anyang, however, borrows more heavily from the ornamental repertoire of contemporary bronzes. Most commonly met is the square-spiral. As a complex in the outline of a stylized cicada it covers the side of small bowls with lid<sup>11</sup>). In meander form it occurs in zig-zag bands (Fig. 36). Again we find it in complex spiral combinations, which may terminate in anthropomorphic designs of upheld pairs of arms and hands facing each other<sup>12</sup>). Patterns of »whorl circles» usually cover the wide stems of Min vessels<sup>13</sup>). The bowls of these and the shoulders of large Lei jars are decorated with a dissolved dragon motif (Fig. 36). The familiar type of Shang dragon in coiled position, his body scaled with lozenges, forms the chief ornament on lids of small bowls<sup>14</sup>).

## 2. Impressed or stamped:

The most common type of impressed pattern on Shang pottery are string-impressions. Cooking vessels made by the mould or beater method are in almost every instance covered with these (Fig. 4, 5, 9, 23, 24). They are accidental to the technique by which they were made. It is quite plausible that one consequence of their application was to give the vessel more surface area to absorb heat. However, they are often very fine and carefully placed (Fig. 5 — on this tripod even the crenelated clay bands are covered with delicate string-impressions) and they occasionally form part of the ornamentation of vessels not used for cooking. Thus it seems obvious that in many instances a decorative purpose was the main motive for their application.

In the form of vertical striations string-impressions appear as background for other motifs (Fig. 13, 43) or as separate, decorative bands (Fig. 32) or as part of complex ornamentation (Fig. 34). In the form of very delicate cross-hatching they may appear as a broad band (Fig. 44) or as filling for large triangles (Fig. 35).

Aside from string impressions the only other imprinted ornamentation seem to be spirals of various forms. They occur as single square-spirals on narrow (Fig. 19) and wide bands (Fig. 41). More complicated forms are round, double-ended S-spirals in relief (Fig. 32) and round triple spirals formed by two interlocked S-spirals (Fig. 20). These are indeed among the most graceful decorative motifs on Shang ware.

### 3. Applied:

Applied ornaments made separately of soft clay and attached to the vessel before baking are encountered quite frequently. The simplest are round bosses taking the place of elaborate eyes or t'ao t'ieh masks on bronzes (Fig. 9, 15, 16, 19, 20, 42). Vertical flanges appear in plain (Fig. 19, 39, 40) and segmented form (Fig. 9, 14, 15, 16, 20, 42). Crenelated clay bands made of narrow strips of clay pinched at equal intervals embellish some of the Li tripods (Fig. 5, 6).

Carved »free animals' heads«, fairly simple or richly ornamented, are found attached to bowls (Fig. 13), or forming the »ears« of jars (Fig. 28, 36). The unusual object in Fig. 10 has a full-round elongated bull's head with plastically modeled features.

»Ears« or lateral handles with angular cross section are a common feature in Shang jars. On jars with flat base they are always placed vertically with horizontal opening (Fig. 27, 28, 33—36). On vessels with ring-foot they are invariably attached horizontally with vertical perforation (Fig. 29, 30, 37). This position is the only suitable one in keeping with the unusual form of the jar with rounded base in Fig. 26. These »ears«, while rarely of any functional significance, are an essential component of the form of most Shang jars, greatly enhancing and animating their outline.

## POTTERY OF THE CHOU PERIOD.

### SITES AND WARES.

A classification of the pottery of the Chou period is far more difficult and complicated than of the ceramics of the preceding epoch. Shang pottery is limited in time and area. It is the homogenous product of a well-integrated and highly centralized culture. Chou civilization, however, especially during the Eastern Chou period, was diversified and highly decentralized. Due to the long duration of the Chou period (1122—249 B.C.) and the vast expanse of the Chou domain

and later of the contending feudal states, local styles with their peculiar characteristics developed in various regions. While the provenance of some pottery types can not be ascertained, we are fortunate in having more exact information about some of the most interesting and important finds, and the places from where they came.

Lungshan (Ch'engtzuai) in Shantung is located ca. 25 miles east of Chinan, capital of the province. The famous neolithic Lungshan ware, including the well-known tripod-Kuei, was discovered in the lower stratum of this site<sup>16</sup>. The upper stratum contains remains of the Chou period. The pottery finds consist of grey ware only, much of which was treated by the »yin yao» or imbibing method. Beater and mould as well as the wheel appear to have been used extensively. The shapes occurring most frequently are Li tripods, round-bottom jars (Fig. 58), wide urns (Fig. 54), Min, Tou (Fig. 81, 82) and bowls.

Loyang in Western Honan was the capital of the Eastern Chou dynasty (770—249 B.C.). The actual site where most of the Chou material was discovered is Chints'un, situated east of the present city. It yielded not only the finest of inlaid bronzes and rare objects of gold, silver, jade, and glass, but also a large amount of ceramic material of different types. Many of the basic bronze forms like Hu, Tou, and Ting as well as potteries in other more usual shapes were excavated. In colour they range from very dark, brownish-grey to light yellowish-grey. There is also a type of red colour. Characteristic and peculiar to this site are vessels with the following modes of decoration (some of them are burnished, others are not): incised geometrical patterns and animals (Fig. 65, 66, 68, 72), moulded reliefs of figures, animals and birds (Fig. 67), appliqué animals (Fig. 73—80), »graphite» bands (Fig. 69, 78, 84) and grooved decor with painted ornamentation in red and traces of white pigment (Fig. 83).

Hsian is the present capital of Shensi, south-west of which is located the site of Hao, ancient capital of the Western Chou dynasty (1122—770 B.C.). The latter also remained an important center after the ruling house had moved east to Loyang. Most of the earlier vessels found in the region are of grey or brownish colour, coarse make and archaic simplicity. Cooking vessels and jars of various forms are the prevalent types (Fig. 46, 49, 51, 52). Among the most characteristic late Chou wares from this site are wide-mouthed storage urns of red pottery (Fig. 55, 56).

Huihsien in Northern Honan is a district where were found some of the choicest Warring States (481—221 B.C.) bronzes, especially bells with minute ornamentation of finest casting. Here a unique type of pottery in the form of small replicas of bronze vessels (Fig. 85—88), belt-hooks and mirrors (Fig. 89—90) and figurines of dancers (Fig. 91, 92) was recovered from tombs of late Chou date. The ware is made of finely treated, greyish-black clay with glossy, black surface and the objects inspired by metal shapes are adorned with ornamentation in red pigment.

Ch'angsha, present capital of Hunan, was an important Southern city of the

large and powerful state of Ch'u. It is the site of some of the most important finds of late Chou and Han bronzes, boxes of painted lacquer with magnificent decoration, jade of rare quality and wooden sculptures of most exceptional nature. Some of these finds represent a very distinct local style and are different in many ways from objects of a related type unearthed in the north. This peculiar local flavour also occurs in some of the Warring States potteries found at Ch'angsha. Made of very dark, smoky-grey material and originally coated with tin foil — only remnants of this rare feature are left — they have outlines and proportions not found in other contemporary ceramics (Fig. 71, 72).

### MATERIAL AND TECHNIQUE.

The body material of Chou potteries may be divided into three categories according to its colour:

#### 1. Grey ware:

It ranges from very dark, smoky to light yellowish-grey and from very coarse and gritty to rather fine texture. Rarely does it approach the carefully washed and treated clay of the best Shang ware. The overwhelming bulk of Chou pottery is made of this material (Fig. 45—49, 51, 52, 54, 57—65, 67—84).

#### 2. Red ware:

It is of light brick-red or reddish-brown colour, usually of rather gritty and porous nature with an admixture of sand and shell. This is in keeping with its purpose as it was mainly used for cooking vessels (Fig. 50). A particular kind, made at Loyang, is coated with a dark grey slip and burnished. There is a rarer type of more compact texture and of reddish-brown colour (Fig. 53). Red Chou ware was only made at a few localities, above all in the region of Hsian (Fig. 55, 56).

#### 3. Black ware:

Made of greyish-black, highly refined clay of very compact texture it represents the non plus ultra of Chou ceramics. It was only found in one region, Huihsien, and the material that has come forth is very limited, apparently originating from several larger tombs (Fig. 85—92).

The beater method, the mould, ring-building and the wheel — all pottery techniques practised by the Shang people — were widely used during the Chou period. The black pottery figurines from Huihsien (Fig. 91, 92) were first hand modeled, then carved with a knife while in a leathery condition. A small hole in the base of these objects seems to indicate their having been rotated on a spike during this process. The appliqué animals from Loyang (Fig. 73, 74, 76) probably were fashioned in a similar way.



### SHAPE AND DECORATION.

During the early part of the Chou period, replicas of practically all types of bronze vessels were made. They are usually of coarse, grey clay, crudely made and undecorated excepting an occasional bull's or t'ao t'ieh head on the vessel's side or handle. From the point of view of ceramic development they are of no interest or significance and consequently have not been dealt with here.

Li tripods and round-bottom jars are the most characteristic ceramic forms of the Chou period. While some shapes were only made in certain regions during limited spans of time, these two forms were in use all over North China for the entire duration of the dynasty. There are many variations of Li tripods depending on when and where they are made. There is no uniform type of Chou Li, but they generally have certain characteristics distinguishing them from neolithic and Shang Li. They are usually of coarser make. They may have legs that are straight and heavy at the point, but hollow and with comparatively high arch (Fig. 45, 46) or they may be of low, squatting shape with heavy, widely flaring rim, low arch, short and solid or completely rounded and bulging legs (Fig. 47, 48). There are also certain types of other tripods in corrupted forms of bronze vessels (Fig. 49, 50).

Tall jars of varying outline with flat base and short or high neck (Fig. 51, 52, 53) and urns of broad dimensions with more or less rounded base, very wide mouth and low rim are among the basic forms encountered (Fig. 54, 55, 56). The most prevalent and most significant Chou shape is the round-bottom jar, which is found in many different deviations with all kinds of mouth styles, «earless» or with lateral handles, completely globular (Fig. 57—60) or with angular shoulder (Fig. 61—64).

Among the forms inspired by contemporary bronzes, the Hu — most important type of wine vessel during the middle and latter part of Chou — is most frequently met in more or less altered proportions (Fig. 65—70, 73, 74). Another fairly common shape derived from bronzes is the Tou, a chalice on high stem with open, shallow bowl (Fig. 81, 82) or spherical form with lid (Fig. 83—85). Three-legged, globular, covered vessels resembling a late Chou bronze Ting are encountered occasionally (Fig. 72, 87), while other shapes derived from bronzes like Tui (Fig. 71), I (Fig. 75, 76), Lien (Fig. 86), P'an (Fig. 88), bells of Cheng type with an animal perched on top of the stem (Fig. 80) and facsimiles of other metal objects (Fig. 89, 90) are rather rare.

Among the most interesting finds of Chou pottery are some items in the shape of or partly composed of full-round birds (Fig. 77—79). A very exceptional type are figurines of dancers (Fig. 91, 92).

The decoration of Chou pottery may be classified as follows: 1. Incised; 2. Impressed; 3. Applied; 4. «Graphite»; 5. Painted.

**1. Incised:**

While incised grooves and beveled ridges are quite typical for Shang pottery, they are only found occasionally on certain kinds of Chou ware and are usually of somewhat different appearance (Fig. 54, 58, 60, 63—66, 73, 74, 83). There are none of the manifold Shang borders with simple designs. At one site, Loyang, more elaborate decoration is encountered, but this seems to be an exception (Fig. 65, 66, 68, 72, 80).

**2. Impressed:**

String-impressions are found on most cooking vessels (Fig. 45—50). Some jars received simple decoration by broad, horizontal lines being scraped through the half-soft, vertical string-impressions before baking (Fig. 51, 52). Practically all round-bottom jars have horizontal string impressions on and around the base; if they occur on the upper part of the body they are usually found in vertical position (Fig. 57, 58, 60—64). The urn in Fig. 56 and the round-bottom jar in Fig. 62 are covered with criss-cross string-impressions.

Mould impressions of plain horizontal striations on the base and cross hatched striations on the body are found on the large jar in Fig. 59, one of the most beautiful examples of the round-bottom type. Moulded criss-cross decor in relief is seen in Fig. 53, 55, 56.

The most elaborate form of moulded decoration is seen on the Hu in Fig. 67, which is covered with three bands of raised figural, animal and bird motifs.

**3. Applied:**

Applied decoration was widely used during the Chou period. It is found in the form of more or less plain lugs or other attachments (Fig. 60, 64, 70, 71, 85, 86). As moulded T'ao T'ieh mask it occurs superimposed on «ears» or legs (Fig. 65—67, 72, 87, 88). As freely carved, full-round animal decor, it occurs in many forms (Fig. 69, 72—80).

**4. «Graphite»:**

This is a mode of ornamentation in which a simple design seems to have been polished into a plain surface by means of a small stone or other tool, whereupon such design appears slightly glossy and in darker tone on a lighter, duller ground. This is a new form of decoration, which was initiated during the latter part of Chou. However, it appears to be only present on a particular type of pottery from Loyang (Fig. 69, 78 — on the handle, 84).

**5. Painted:**

This is another innovation of the Chou period. While some potteries have simple decorations painted in red pigment (Fig. 79, 83 — the latter has also traces of white design) this art was brought to highest perfection in the exquisite ornamentation of replicas of vessels and other objects of bronze unearthed in Huihsien (Fig. 85—90).

After this summary discussion of Chou pottery shapes and methods of decoration certain pieces and types will be dealt with hereafter in more detail.

The straight-sided and straight-lipped Li tripod in Fig. 45, with heavy handle and beak spout, is a most unusual vessel. It is probably of the early Chou period, while the one in Fig. 48 is likely to be of late Chou date. Another cooking vessel of rare shape is seen in Fig. 49. Such combination forms, consisting of two sections, however, with the bottom of the upper part forming a grill, occur already in the prehistoric pottery of Puchaochai.<sup>15</sup>) During the historical period they recur in bronze in the form of the Hsien steamer.

Wide urns with impressed bands of cross-hatched decor in relief (Fig. 55) were found at various sites. Large jars with similar decoration in rows of two or three — and in grey instead of red pottery — were discovered in the Hsinyang region of Southern Honan. With their severe outline they are among the most appealing wares of the Chou period.

Jars with round bottom are the most characteristic shape in Chou pottery. Depending on the different localities and time spans in which they were made, their outline, mouth style and surface treatment vary a great deal. Their body may be spherical (Fig. 57, 59), oval (Fig. 58) or depressed globular (Fig. 60). Their mouth may be round (Fig. 59), angular (Fig. 57), conical (Fig. 60) or cup-shaped (Fig. 58). Their body may be covered almost entirely with impressions of various kinds (Fig. 57, 59), or may have string-impressions on base and shoulder and horizontal grooves around the middle (Fig. 58, 60). They usually are «earless» but they may also have lugs half embedded in the sides to fit into the curve of the body. The kind with angular shoulder, too, shows many varieties that greatly differ from each other. The lower part of the body may be hemispherical (Fig. 63, 64), elongated with almost straight side (Fig. 62) or almost globular with the side curving inward towards the angular shoulder (Fig. 61). The mouth may be sharply angular (Fig. 62, 63), smoothly rolled over (Fig. 61) or almost straight with a slight flare (Fig. 64). The neck may vary greatly in height (Fig. 61, 62). The body may be almost plain (Fig. 61, 63) or it may be covered in its entirety with string impressions (Fig. 62, 64). The shoulder may be undecorated (Fig. 61, 62) or it may be embellished with grooves (Fig. 63, 64). While the angular kind, too, is almost always without «ears», they may be encountered occasionally and, being themselves of unusual style, form a perfect continuation of the smooth outline of the vessels body (Fig. 64). With their simple archaic form some of these round-bottom jars are indeed among the most beautiful creations of the Chou potter.

Most of the vase-shaped Chou vessels resemble variations of the bronze form Hu and are found in many different deviations. They may have a bulging body and flat base (Fig. 69), an oval body with flaring or low foot and long, straight neck (Fig. 65—67), ovoid body with very high foot and neck and widely flaring

mouth (Fig. 70) or an elongated body with wide, low foot and neck and sharply angular mouth (Fig. 68). They may be plain and of elegant proportion (Fig. 70) or incised with geometric motifs and animals (Fig. 65, 66) or large square-spiral and formalized leaf design on hatched background (Fig. 68) or moulded decoration of human figures, animals and birds (Fig. 67) or simple borders in «graphite» technique (Fig. 69). They frequently have «ears» in bronze style of finely moulded t'ao t'ieh masks ending in small loop handles (Fig. 65—67). Sharply angular projections symbolizing a bird's wings (Fig. 69) are rare. Originally all these Hu (with the exception of Fig. 68) had lids, which may vary greatly. Rare types are those with the freely modeled head of a bird of prey (Fig. 69)<sup>17</sup> or with three volute-like attachments (Fig. 70)<sup>18</sup>. These are also found on the lid and form the legs of the rare Tui vessel, from the same site, Ch'angsha (Fig. 71).

A large and powerful Ting (Fig. 72) has tall legs, which are decorated with moulded, stylized t'ao t'ieh masks. It has «bent ears», incised with braid design. The body is engraved with a band of segmented circles with alternating plain and dotted fields (such motif is also seen on the lid of the Tou in Fig. 83). The lid is decorated with a border of small spirals connected diagonally (cf. Fig. 65) enclosing two braided bands and a center with S-spirals (cf. Fig. 65). Three freely modeled, high-necked, horned animals recline on the cover.

Among the most interesting types of Chou pottery is a group of vessels, which are either partly or entirely in the shape of animals or birds, or have these attached in sharply cut, full round form (Fig. 73—77, 79). The vessel in Fig. 73, a broad Hu on three legs, has two animals with pointed ears and snouts perched on its shoulder. On the vessel in Fig. 74 there are four such animals cut in a sharply angular manner with a knife-like instrument. They have a stubby snout and «capped horns». The vessel is supported by three legs in the form of beaked creatures. Similar combinations of such animals are found on a bronze stove of the early Eastern Chou period.<sup>19</sup> Another rare type, seen in Fig. 76, are three-legged, oval basins in the bronze form I, with large animal's head with big ears and gaping, wide open mouth. A small animal, similar to those in Fig. 73, is attached to the rear. Fig. 75 shows a crude simplification of this type. The head becomes an open tube with small eyes and rudimentary ears. The tail animal has been replaced by a plain roll which hangs over the rear edge. The octagonal staff in Fig. 79 — of undetermined use — has on its base a head similar to that of the animal in Fig. 76. The same has a wide open mouth forming the hollow end of the staff. The neck is encircled by a raised rope decor. The staff is crowned by a large bird of prey, whose plumage is stamped, incised and painted in red pigment. A most exceptional piece is shown in Fig. 77. It has the body of a bird with removable wings and angular tail. The large head is similar to that of the creature on the vessel in Fig. 76. On its shallow back is the deeply incised rectangular outline of a false lid on which a small animal perches. The base has two rectangular holes where probably the legs, now missing, were inserted.

Among the best known Chou forms is the Tou. Occuring already in the neolithic pottery of Yangshao, <sup>20</sup>) it is frequently met in Chou bronzes and in its simpler types is also very common in pottery. In its open form its bowl is shallow with rounded contour (Fig. 81) or it may have an angular outline and sharply everted mouth (Fig. 82). A rare and important specimen of its covered type (Fig. 83) has a wide, depressed, globular body traversed in its entirety by broad horizontal grooves. Both of these are features found on many bronzes of the first centuries of Eastern Chou. From this it may be deduced that this covered, burnished Tou may be contemporary with these and thus be the earliest of its kind in existence. The widely flaring, horizontal knob of the cover is decorated with a large circle, whose alternating segments are painted in red pigment. This colour is also used on the body in a border of «eyes». In addition there are traces of white design. A fine example of a Tou with spherical body and very high stem is the tall burnished vessel with «graphite» decoration (Fig. 84).

Unique and apart from all other kinds of Chou ceramics are the small bronze replicas and figurines recovered from tombs in the Huihsien region of Northern Honan. The material is finely levigated, greyish-black clay of very compact texture. They probably were made in moulds and apparently fired at a very high temperature. The beautifully proportioned and carefully finished vessels represent many of the well-known bronze shapes of the late Chou period, like Tou, Lien, Hu, cover-Ting and P'an. The forms are composed of smoothly rounded bodies and either stem or legs, while the rims, knobs (on cover of Tou) or the small ring handles with hexagonal cross-section are sharply angular. In one type of vessel, legs and handles are plain as in the Tou in Fig. 85 or the tall Lien in Fig. 86, whose handle has a hook-like protrusion frequently found on bronzes. In another type they are adorned with finely moulded animal masks, as in the Ting in Fig. 87 and the P'an in Fig. 88. When the ring handles of a P'an are undecorated, they usually occur in pairs on either side. There are also clay items resembling other bronze objects like mirrors as shown in Fig. 90, or belt-hooks as in Fig. 89. The latter are powerfully built, with broad, heavy-set body, masterfully proportioned with smoothly rounded or sharply beveled edges and strongly formalized animal's head. They are far from being plain copies of metal buckles, which generally are quite differently organized.

All these objects have a glossy, black, highly polished surface, decorated with finely painted ornaments in red pigment. These represent complex patterns of lozenges, triangles and other forms composed of diagonal lines, volutes, cartouches and solid areas. Such motifs are arranged in horizontal bands around the body of the vessel. In the case of flat objects, like belt-hooks and mirrors, they fill the entire space. The ornamentation is closely related to the red and black decoration of the well-known lacquer fragments, which were found at Kuweits'un in the same district, Huihsien.<sup>21</sup>) It also shows strong resemblance to the gold and silver inlay in contemporary Warring States bronzes.

Besides the beautifully potted vessels and other accessories the Huihsien tombs yielded pottery figurines of human beings and horses, which are the only ones of their kind of historic pre-Han date. The figurines represent dancers (Fig. 91, 92). With their striking, almost cubistic composition and highly mimic poses, they are among the most expressionistic creations in Chinese art. The faces are flat and shield-shaped, with sharp outline and with long, straight nose dividing the entire forehead. There are neither eyes, mouth nor ears. The hair may be dressed in coils on both sides of the head, with an angular top-knot in the center, or we may find it arranged asymmetrically. The upper body is formed by a broad bulge, which continues into the wide upper sleeves and thins out towards the rudimentary lower arms and hands, usually stretched out in an expressive manner. The lower part of the robe may be fairly simple. In figures leaning backwards, it may have a long train. In squatting or sitting position, the bent legs may be clearly visible and the back of the garment carved in sharply angular fashion. With the exception of the highly glossy, black coiffure, the figurines originally appeared to have been covered entirely with a thin application of red pigment. In many cases, however, it has vanished almost completely.

The horses are akin to those found in Chou bronze material. A beautifully shaped owl, in cubistic style and sharply angular like the belt hook in Fig. 89 is the only one of its kind known to have been found.

## STONEWARES OF THE WARRING STATES AND HAN.

### PROTO-PORCELAINS AND EARLIEST GLAZES.

Towards the latter part of the Warring States (481—221 B.C.), the increasing power of the semi-independent feudal states and the disintegration of the Chou empire were approaching their culmination. This epoch marks the appearance of porcellaneous wares which, in contrast to the white Shang ware from Anyang, had the proper admixture of the essential substances to insure the necessary cohesion of the body material. Almost simultaneously, the first ceramic glazes came into existence.

The two earliest sites for these wares are Shouchou in Anhui, capital of the state of Ch'u, and Shaohsing in Chekiang, capital of the state of Yüeh. Proto-porcelains from these two localities frequently show great similarity in body material, shape, ornamentation and glaze. Replicas of the late Chou bronze form Ho (Fig. 105)<sup>22</sup>, as well as such motifs as depressed complex waffle patterns traversed by a net of diagonals (Fig. 101), and square-spiral decoration (Fig. 104, 105, 106) are common to both sites.

Shouchou and Ch'angsha, both cities of Ch'u, which was one of the largest and most powerful feudal states, show certain similarities in form and decoration.

Vases with depressed globular body and long, slender, tubular neck (Fig. 100, 111), as well as incised triangles (Fig. 99, 108) and small bosses on lids (Fig. 97, 108) occur at both places.

Bands of parallel wavy lines, executed in comb technique, appear on wares from Shouchou (Fig. 97—100) as well as from Hsian (Fig. 115, 118).

The most common motif, generally placed on the shoulder or handles of jars, is the double-ended spiral. It is encountered in local variations at Shouchou (Fig. 93), Shaohsing (Fig. 101), Ch'angsha (Fig. 107) and Hsian (Fig. 115, 117). ✓

The earliest types with impressed all-over ornamentation, as found at Shouchou and Shaohsing, were usually mould-made. The other vessels from these and the remaining sites were made on the wheel.

The first glazes were sprayed on from above and settled on the vessel's mouth and shoulder in the form of thin, glassy drops or almost colourless deposits with only a faint olive-green tinge. The unglazed lower part of the body was often burnt a light brown where exposed to the heat of the kiln. On many specimens these primitive glazes have decayed or peeled off during the centuries of burial.

The wares of Shouchou and Shaohsing seem to be the only ones which can with any certainty be ascribed to the pre-Han period. All the others appear to be of Han date (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). During this long epoch, the production of glazed stonewares followed the spread of Chinese civilization and the colonization of Southern regions. Thus we find them in Fukien, Kuangtung, and Northern Annam, where a considerable amount of material was excavated in the province of Thanhhoa<sup>23</sup>.

Probably the latest and certainly the most advanced of the Han proto-porcelains are those of Hsinyang. With their finer body material and improved glaze technique, they mark already a further stage in the development of Chinese ceramics.

#### SITES AND WARES.

The earliest proto-porcelains were made at Shouchou in Northern Anhui, capital of the state of Ch'u. The colour of the compact body material varies greatly and ranges from grey to a light cream colour. The tone of the base, which was generally more exposed to heat and oxidation, ranges from purple or cocoa to light brick-red, depending upon the temperature of the kiln. Those with purple base are usually harder and probably were more highly fired. Most Shouchou vessels have a flat base. Some of tall form, however, may have a ring-foot (Fig. 98, 100).

The simplest shape are small, deep bowls, mould-made, with extremely thin, inverted wall and decorated with delicate linen-weave pattern and appliqué S-spirals (Fig. 93). Bigger jars made in this technique are usually impressed with more complex patterns. All these mould-made vessels are unglazed. ✓

Of wheel-made wares, the best-known type are large, well-proportioned jars with wide shoulder and short, straight mouth. They are found undecorated or



with simple borders of parallel wavy lines. If more elaborately decorated, they may have a wide band of incised vertical grooves around the body, and borders of horizontally placed chevrons as well as heavy handles with stylized monster-heads on the shoulder (Fig. 96). There are Shouchou bronze vessels of exactly this type. A rare specimen is a jar with two carefully executed bands of vertical grooves on body and shoulder and a pair of ceramic rings freely suspended from semi-circular lugs (Fig. 95). Another exceptional piece is a jug of oval outline with flat, S-shaped handle (the upper end of which is lost) and small, pinched stub in lieu of a spout. A wide band of deeply carved grooves covers three-quarters of the body (Fig. 94).

A small jar of depressed globular form with five bosses on the lid (Fig. 97) and a Tou of angular outline (Fig. 98) are both decorated with parallel wavy lines. A large Hu, whose lid has three hook-like projections, is adorned with three finely executed combed wave bands surmounted by a band of incised triangles in triple outline. The lateral handles are decorated with double-ended spirals and fields of impressed dots (Fig. 99). A rare vase has a straight ring-foot, and depressed, flat-shouldered body decorated with two bands of incised triple lines. It has a long, tubular neck embellished with two wave bands (Fig. 100). Probably inspired by a bronze model, it marks the first occurrence of this form in ceramics. It became more frequent during the Han period (Fig. 111) and experienced a great revival in the Lungch'üan ware of the Sung period.

Shaohsing in Eastern Chekiang, capital of the state of Yüeh, is the only other locality now known to have produced porcellaneous stonewares during the latter part of the Warring States. They were the predecessors of the famous Yüeh ware made in later times in this district. The body material is of grey colour of varying tonality and, where exposed to the fire of the kiln, ranges from light greyish-brown to brick-red, depending upon the intensity of temperature during the firing, which in turn affects the hardness of the ware.

Like the primitive glaze of Shouchou ware the glaze on Shaohsing vessels adheres to the surface in small puddles of uneven consistency and glassy, olive colour. In contrast to the Shouchou glaze it usually is more glossy.

Some of the smaller mould-made jars with mat-marked decoration are similar to those from Shouchou. The large vessels have shapes peculiar to Shaohsing ware. The beautifully built jars with slanting underside, wide shoulder and finely potted, low neck with everted horizontal lip have classic proportions (Fig. 101, 103). While the vessel in Fig. 101 is decorated with appliqué S-spirals on the shoulder and impressed with a complex waffle pattern traversed by a net-work of diagonals, the globular jar in Fig. 102, with thickened, sharply angular mouth, is covered with an imprinted comb pattern and the vessel in Fig. 103 with waffled rectangles. Both these motifs occur only on Shaohsing ware.

Ceramic replicas of several kinds of late Chou bronzes were made in Shaohsing. These include bells of at least four basic types, one of which is seen in Fig. 104, and several varieties of covered Ting tripods. There are also three-legged kettles

in the form Ho, of which a fine example is shown in Fig. 105. It has a depressed globular body adorned with the typical impressed decor of stamped spirals and a raised rope band. The flat lid is of cylindrical form. The spout is formed by the head of an animal, whose fins and tail are attached to the large handle with quadrangular cross-section. Another vessel of animalistic type, with »bent ears» in the position of wings, is seen in Fig. 106. Its body and the upper part of the animal legs are decorated with stamped square-spirals. A rope band in relief leads up to the rising front section, which bears the finely modeled monster-head with protruding eyes and angular horns. The lower part of the face is studded with small bosses and the curved forehead is covered with delicate, impressed spiral ornamentation.

Ch'angsha, capital of Hunan, was an important Southern city of the powerful state of Ch'u. Most of the porcellaneous wares discovered at this site appear to be of early Han date. The body is of greyish colour. Where it was exposed to the heat of the kiln, it turned a light yellow-brown to warm dark brown, resembling the colour of a newly baked loaf of brown bread.

All vessels are wheel-made. The feldspathic glaze, where applied sufficiently thick, has a rich olive-green tone. Where it runs in heavy drops it may have streaks of blue.

Among the shapes found is a small deep bowl with thickened, angular rim and ribbed side handles adorned at both ends with applied S-spirals (Fig. 107). A small, graceful globular jar on three rounded legs is embellished with an incised border of triangles. It has a perforated handle and a flat lid with a boss in the raised center enclosed by three others (Fig. 108). There are deep bowls with slightly everted, perforated rim. The body is decorated with incised criss-cross decor in double outline and the spaces between the perforations with a formalized leaf motif, while the curved inside lid with three recumbent ram-like animals is incised with a circular border or triangles (Fig. 109). A censer of »po shan lu» type has the form of a lotus bud on a stem rising from a small basin of typical Han shape. The lid with openwork petals in relief has elongated perforation with circular ends. This is one of the best glazed examples of Ch'angsha ware, the glaze on which usually is very sparse (Fig. 110).

The vase with depressed body and slender neck is freely incised with simple Han motifs (Fig. 111). A modification of its late Chou predecessor (Fig. 100), which is far more severe in outline, it represents a familiar Han shape. So does the Hu with broad, depressed body, small, high foot and very wide neck (Fig. 112).

In the region of Hsian, capital of Shensi, and during the Western Han period (206 B.C. to 25 A.D.) capital of the empire, a kind of proto-porcelain was made of which an earlier and a later type exist. The earlier type has the dark, bluish grey body, which sometimes obtains a brownish tinge where exposed to the fire. The base is either flat or slightly recessed. This ware usually is unglazed or has merely a faint spray of corroded glaze on shoulder and mouth. Only two basic shapes are known. One is a vase of Hu form with heavy neck and cup-shaped

mouth. Almost the entire area of the globular body is traversed by carefully executed horizontal grooves, while two lugs on the shoulder are impressed with typical striated Han design (Fig. 113). The other shape is a globular jar with exactly the same kind of decoration on body and handle.

The other type may be slightly later. Its body material generally is of the same nature as that of the preceding group. Unless a vessel has three low, stumpy supports, which is only the case with wide jars (Fig. 118), there is usually a coarse, crudely rounded foot rim. In rare instances a very high and more precisely potted ring-foot may occur (Fig. 116).

This ware is always glazed and the feldspathic glaze, where found at its best, is more advanced than that on any of the various wares previously described (Fig. 115). It has a rich, olive-green tone and where thickly applied has a large surface crackle. As it is sprayed on from above like the glazes on all the preceding wares it is generally only found inside the mouth and on the shoulder. Due to the presence of iron, neck and underside usually have turned a deep brown with a dull to very glossy surface, depending upon the circumstances of glazing and firing (Fig. 114—116, 118).

There are only two shapes, basically the same as those of the earlier type: Hu vases and wide jars. The Hu occurs in a variety of forms. A simplified version of the earlier Hu with cup-shaped mouth (Fig. 113) is seen in Fig. 114. The most prevalent form is the Hu with flaring mouth. It ranges in size from very small to extremely large vessels like the ones shown in Fig. 115. Aside from the common combed wave decor it has hatched handles adorned with double spirals, above which monster heads are engraved. On the shoulder, between angular ridges, are two freely incised borders of abstract curve and dot motifs ending in heads of long-beaked birds. The full figure of a crane is also found in this design. A vase of rare outline and exceptional decor is seen in Fig. 116. It has a gently flaring mouth, thickened at the flat rim. The shoulder is adorned with boldly incised, slanting zig-zag bands. The unique handles consist of full-round tiger heads with protruding tongues surmounting the oval openings. Above the handles, appliqué t'ao t'ieh masks are attached to the vessel's shoulder. The jar in Fig. 117, which originally had a lid, as indicated by the form of the mouth, has a pear-shaped body incised with three bands of triple grooves. There is a pair of lugs in horizontal position and applied t'ao t'ieh masks with rings.

Of broad jars those of plain, globular form are most common. Another version, shown in Fig. 118, has a sharper outline. It has a lid and large handles with monster ornament and big projecting horns.

Probably the latest and certainly technically the most advanced kind of early porcellaneous ware is the type found at Hsinyang in Southern Honan. It was discovered in a tomb at a hill called Lei ku t'ai. The finds include bricks with characteristic Han decor of various kinds of lozenge patterns. One of these bricks bears the date »11th Year of Yung Yüan«, corresponding to the year 98 A.D.

The body material of the Hsinyang porcelains is of grey colour and fine texture. The unglazed base, always flat, is generally burnt greyish-red or reddish-brown. As contrasted with preceding wares, this ware was dipped into the glaze. The same is always thin, sometimes finely crazed, and is of grey-green to sea-green tone.

The shapes consist of basins and jars. There is a smaller type of basin with straight lip and impressed, wide-meshed lozenge border connected above with a single, wavy line. A larger type has the familiar form of Han bronze basins with slightly flaring mouth. It is adorned with an impressed, close-meshed lozenge band (Fig. 119).

The jars are of depressed globular form with wide, cup-shaped mouth and four lugs in horizontal position on the shoulder (Fig. 120). They closely resemble a certain type of bronze Lei of the Warring States<sup>24</sup>. The shoulder is embellished with an impressed band of intricate lozenge decor, which also occurs on the Han bricks from the same site.

In texture of body material, technique of potting, and general shapes, as well as in characteristic decoration and nature and colour of glaze, Yüeh ware of the Six Dynasties (220—581 A.D.) shows close resemblance to Hsinyang ware. Hsinyang is situated within reach of the Yangtze valley, China's great traffic artery connecting the interior with the sea coast. It is quite possible that the porcelain of Hsinyang, which heralded the advent of a new and great epoch in the history of Chinese ceramics, inspired production of the celebrated Yüeh ware of succeeding centuries.

## NOTES.

<sup>1</sup>) G. D. Wu: *Prehistoric Pottery in China*. London 1938, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup>) Wu: *Op. cit.* p. 37.

<sup>3</sup>) Cf. J. G. Andersson: *Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese*. *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (hereafter abbreviated BMFEA) No. 15. Stockholm 1943, Pl. 167, Fig. 2—4. Also: J. G. Andersson: *Prehistoric Sites in Honan*. BMFEA No. 19. Stockholm 1947, Pl. 1, Fig. 3—4, Pl. 86, Fig. 1—3, Pl. 87, Fig. 1—3.

<sup>4</sup>) Cf. Andersson: *Op. cit.* (Prehistory) Pl. 35, Fig. 1.

<sup>5</sup>) Cf. Andersson: *Op. cit.* (Prehistory) Pl. 166, Fig. 2.

<sup>6</sup>) Cf. Andersson: *Op. cit.* (Honan) Pl. 2, Fig. 3—6, Pl. 91, Fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup>) Some specific terms used here for certain types of bronze decor are proposed and explained in: Bernhard Karlgren: *Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes*. BMFEA No. 8. Stockholm 1936.

<sup>8</sup>) An example in bronze is in the Fogg Art Museum (Winthrop Collection), one in white marble in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and one in jade in the author's collection.

<sup>9</sup>) Cf. Sueji Umehara: *Selected Ancient Treasures found at Anyang Yin Sites*. Kyoto 1941. Pl. VI—VII.

<sup>10</sup>) Cf. Umehara: *Op. cit.* Pl. X, XIII, XV.

<sup>11</sup>) Cf. Umehara: *Op. cit.* Pl. VI—VII.

<sup>12</sup>) Cf. Umehara: *Op. cit.* Pl. IX—XV.

<sup>13</sup>) Cf. Umehara: *Op. cit.* Pl. I—II.

<sup>14</sup>) Cf. Umehara: *Op. cit.* Pl. VI—VII.

- <sup>15</sup>) Cf. Andersson: *Op. cit.* (Honan) Pl. 90, Fig. 1—3.
- <sup>16</sup>) Academia Sinica: Ch'eng Tzu Yai. Nankin 1934. Frontispiece.
- <sup>17</sup>) Cf. Jung Keng: *The Bronzes of Shang and Chou*. Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies. Peiping 1941. Pl. 378, left, Pl. 412, right.
- <sup>18</sup>) Cf. Jung Keng: *Op. cit.* Pl. 394, left.
- <sup>19</sup>) Cf. Jung Keng: *Op. cit.* Pl. 97.
- <sup>20</sup>) Cf. Andersson: *Op. cit.* (Honan) Pl. 28, Fig. 1—2.
- <sup>21</sup>) J. G. Andersson: *The Goldsmith in Ancient China*. BMFEA No. 7. Stockholm 1935. Pl. XVI.
- <sup>22</sup>) Cf. Jung Keng: *Op. cit.* Pl. 257, right, 258, top, 259, left.
- <sup>23</sup>) Cf. Olov R. T. Janse: *Archaeological Research in Indo-China*. Cambridge, Mass. 1947.
- <sup>24</sup>) Cf. *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art*. London 1935—6. No. 145.

### LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, PLATES 1—30.

The height figures in the list below are in part exact, in part only approximate.

- Fig. 1. Li tripod, red pottery, prehistoric. H. 13.5 cm.
- Fig. 2. Tripod, red pottery, prehistoric.  
Courtesy of The Buffalo Museum of Science. H. 33 cm.
- Fig. 3. Li tripod, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang  
Chinese Government, Academia Sinica. H. 13.5 cm.
- Fig. 4. Li tripod, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Buffalo Museum of Science. H. 13.5 cm.
- Fig. 5. Li tripod, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Chinese Government, Academia Sinica. H. 13 cm.
- Fig. 6. Li tripod, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 7. Chüeh, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 13 cm.
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Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 12 cm.
- Fig. 9. Ting, red pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 10 cm.
- Fig. 10. Four-legged vessel, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 12 cm.
- Fig. 11. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 12. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 13. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 14. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Buffalo Museum of Science. H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 15. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 13.5 cm.
- Fig. 16. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 17. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 18. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 19. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Buffalo Museum of Science. H. 15 cm.

- Fig. 20. Bowl, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 18 cm.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 21. Ewer, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 22. Ewer, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 23. Jar, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Chinese Government, Academia Sinica. H. 27 cm.
- Fig. 24. Round-bottom jar, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
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- Fig. 25. Jar with spout, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 13 cm.
- Fig. 26. Jar, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
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- Fig. 27. Jar, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 12 cm.
- Fig. 28. Jar, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 21 cm.
- Fig. 29. Jar, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 12 cm.
- Fig. 30. Jar, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 24 cm.
- Fig. 31. Jar, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 32. Jar, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 21 cm.  
Collection of the Author.
- Fig. 33. Lei, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 26 cm.
- Fig. 34. Lei, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Buffalo Museum of Science. H. 28 cm.
- Fig. 35. Lei, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 32 cm.
- Fig. 36. Lei, white pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington H. 34 cm.
- Fig. 37. Hu, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. 25 cm.
- Fig. 38. Chih, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Collection of The Rev. Frederick B. Kellogg, Cambridge, Mass. H. 16 cm.
- Fig. 39. Beaker, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 12 cm.
- Fig. 40. Ku, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 16 cm.
- Fig. 41. Tsun, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of Walker Art Center, Minneapolis. H. 16 cm.
- Fig. 42. Beaker, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 43. Beaker, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 16 cm.
- Fig. 44. Beaker, grey pottery, Anyang, Shang. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 45. Li tripod with spout and handle, grey pottery, early Chou.  
Courtesy of The Buffalo Museum of Science. H. 11 cm.
- Fig. 46. Li tripod, grey pottery, Hsian, early Chou.  
Courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. H. 11 cm.
- Fig. 47. Li tripod, grey pottery, Chou.  
Collection of Mr. Eugene Bernat, Milton, Mass. H. 11 cm.

- Fig. 48. Li tripod, grey pottery, late Chou.  
Courtesy of The British Museum (Eumorfopoulos Collection), London. H. 16.5.
- Fig. 49. Tripod, grey pottery, Chou.  
Courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. H. 25 cm.
- Fig. 50. Tripod, red pottery, Chou.  
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- Fig. 51. Jar, grey pottery, Hsian, Chou.  
Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 25 cm.
- Fig. 52. Vase, grey pottery, Hsian, Chou.  
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- Fig. 53. Jar, reddish-brown pottery, Chou. H. 37 cm.
- Fig. 54. Urn, grey pottery, Lungshan, Chou.  
Courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 55. Urn, red pottery, Hsian, late Chou. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 56. Urn, red pottery, Hsian, late Chou.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 30 cm.
- Fig. 57. Round-bottom jar, grey pottery, Chou.  
Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 24 cm.
- Fig. 58. Round-bottom jar, grey pottery, Lungshan, Chou.  
Courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. H. 27 cm.
- Fig. 59. Round-bottom jar, grey pottery, Chou.  
Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts (Hoyt Collection), Boston. H. 36 cm.
- Fig. 60. Round-bottom jar, grey pottery, Chou.  
Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 26 cm.
- Fig. 61. Round-bottom jar, grey pottery, Chou.  
Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 24 cm.
- Fig. 62. Round-bottom jar, grey pottery, Chou.  
Courtesy of Östasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm. H. 27 cm.
- Fig. 63. Round-bottom jar, grey pottery, Chou. H. 19 cm.
- Fig. 64. Round-bottom jar, grey pottery, Chou.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London. H. 21 cm.
- Fig. 65. Hu, grey pottery, Loyang, late Chou.  
Courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. H. 44 cm.
- Fig. 66. Hu, red pottery with dark-grey slip, Loyang, late Chou.  
Courtesy of The Seattle Art Museum. H. 34 cm.
- Fig. 67. Hu, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. 32 cm.
- Fig. 68. Hu, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
Courtesy of Vassar College Art Museum, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. H. 30 cm.
- Fig. 69. Hu, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts (Hoyt Collection), Boston. H. 30 cm.
- Fig. 70. Hu, dark-grey pottery, Ch'angsha, Eastern Chou. H. 37 cm.
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- Fig. 72. Ting, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou. H. 35 cm.
- Fig. 73. Three-legged Hu, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou. H. 19 cm.
- Fig. 74. Three-legged Hu, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
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- Fig. 75. I, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London. H. 8 cm.



- Fig. 76. I, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
Courtesy of The Buffalo Museum of Science. H. 9 cm.
- Fig. 77. Bird, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
Courtesy of The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. H. 21 cm.
- Fig. 78. Cup, grey pottery, Loyang, late Chou.  
Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts (Hoyt Collection), Boston. H. 12 cm.
- Fig. 79. Staff with bird, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou. H. 27 cm.
- Fig. 80. Bell, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
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- Fig. 81. Tou, grey pottery, Lungshan, Chou.  
Courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 82. Tou, grey pottery, Lungshan, Chou.  
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- Fig. 83. Tou, grey pottery, decoration in red pigment, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. 24 cm.
- Fig. 84. Tou, grey pottery, Loyang, Eastern Chou.  
Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts (Hoyt Collection), Boston. H. 37 cm.
- Fig. 85. Tou, black pottery, decoration in red pigment, Huihsien, Warring States.  
Collection of Mr. Frederick M. Mayer, New York. H. 10.5.
- Fig. 86. Lien, black pottery, decoration in red pigment, Huihsien, Warring States. Collection of Mr. Michel Calmann, Paris. H. 13 cm.
- Fig. 87. Ting, black pottery, decoration in red pigment, Huihsien, Warring States. Courtesy of The Honolulu Academy of Arts. H. 8 cm.
- Fig. 88. P'an, black pottery, decoration in red pigment, Huihsien, Warring States.  
Collection of Mr. Frederick M. Mayer, New York. H. 6 cm.
- Fig. 89. Belt-hook, black pottery, decoration in red pigment, Huihsien, Warring States.  
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- Fig. 90. Mirror, black pottery, decoration in red pigment, Huihsien, Warring States. Collection of Mr. Ernest Erickson, New York. H. 10.5.
- Fig. 91. Human figure, black pottery, red pigmentation, Huihsien, Warring States.  
Collection of Mr. Russell Tyson, The Art Institute of Chicago. H. 9 cm.
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- Fig. 93. Bowl, grey stoneware, Shouchou, Warring States.  
Courtesy of The Buffalo Museum of Science. H. 7 cm.
- Fig. 94. Jug, grey stoneware, Shouchou, Warring States.  
Collection of Mr. Russell Tyson, The Art Institute of Chicago. H. 18 cm.
- Fig. 95. Jar, grey stoneware, traces of thin olive-green glaze, Shouchou, Warring States.  
Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. 19 cm.
- Fig. 96. Jar, grey stoneware, traces of thin olive-green glaze, Shouchou, Warring States.  
Collection of Mr. Russell Tyson, The Art Institute of Chicago. H. 28 cm.
- Fig. 97. Jar with cover, traces of grey-green glaze, Shouchou, Warring States.  
Courtesy of The Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. H. 12 cm.
- Fig. 98. Tou, grey stoneware, brownish glaze, Shouchou, Warring States.  
Collection of Mr. Eugene Bernat, Milton, Mass. H. 14 cm.
- Fig. 99. Hu, grey stoneware, thin olive-green glaze, Shouchou, Warring States. H. 30 cm.
- Fig. 100. Vase, grey stoneware, brownish glaze, Shouchou, Warring States. H. 24 cm.
- Fig. 101. Jar, grey stoneware, Shaohsing, Warring States.  
Collection of the Author. H. 28 cm.

- Fig. 102. Jar, stoneware burnt brick-red, Shaohsing, Warring States.  
Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts (Hoyt Collection), Boston. H. 26 cm.
- Fig. 103. Jar, grey stoneware, Shaohsing, Warring States.  
Collection of Mr. Russell Tyson, The Art Institute of Chicago. H. 24 cm.
- Fig. 104. Bell, grey stoneware, traces of glaze, Shaohsing, Warring States.  
Courtesy of The Seattle Art Museum. H. 30 cm.
- Fig. 105. Ho, grey stoneware, thin olive-green glaze, Shaohsing, Warring States.  
Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. H. 22 cm.
- Fig. 106. Three-legged vessel, grey stoneware, thin olive-green glaze, Shaohsing, Warring States.  
H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 107. Bowl, grey stoneware, olive-green glaze, Ch'angsha, Han. H. 5 cm.
- Fig. 108. Jar with handle and lid, grey stoneware, brownish, Ch'angsha, Han.  
Collection of Mr. Michel Calmann, Paris. H. 8 cm.
- Fig. 109. Bowl with cover, grey stoneware, thin olive-green glaze, Ch'angsha, Han.  
Collection of Mr. Russell Tyson, The Art Institute of Chicago. H. 16 cm.
- Fig. 110. Censer, grey stoneware, olive-green glaze, Ch'angsha, Han. H. 15 cm.
- Fig. 111. Vase, grey stoneware, thin olive-green glaze, Ch'angsha, Han.  
Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. 20 cm.
- Fig. 112. Hu, grey stoneware, brownish glaze, Ch'angsha, Han.  
Collection of Mr. Michel Calmann, Paris. H. 10 cm.
- Fig. 113. Hu, grey stoneware, Hsian, Han. H. 32 cm.
- Fig. 114. Hu, grey stoneware, olive-green glaze, Hsian, Han. H. 20 cm.
- Fig. 115. Hu, grey stoneware, olive-green glaze, Hsian, Han.  
Courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum. H. 42 cm.
- Fig. 116. Hu, grey stoneware, olive-green glaze, Hsian, Han.  
Collection of Mr. Raymond A. Bidwell, Springfield, Mass. H. 32 cm.
- Fig. 117. Hu, grey stoneware, olive-green glaze, Hsian, Han.  
Courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. H. 36 cm.
- Fig. 118. Jar with cover, grey stoneware, olive-green glaze, Hsian, Han.  
Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts (Hoyt Collection), Boston. H. 24 cm.
- Fig. 119. Basin, grey stoneware, greyish-green glaze, Hsinyang, Han.  
Formerly Historical Museum, Peiping. H. 9 cm.
- Fig. 120. Jar, grey stoneware, greyish-green glaze, Hsinyang, Han.  
Courtesy of The Buffalo Museum of Science. H. 18 cm.



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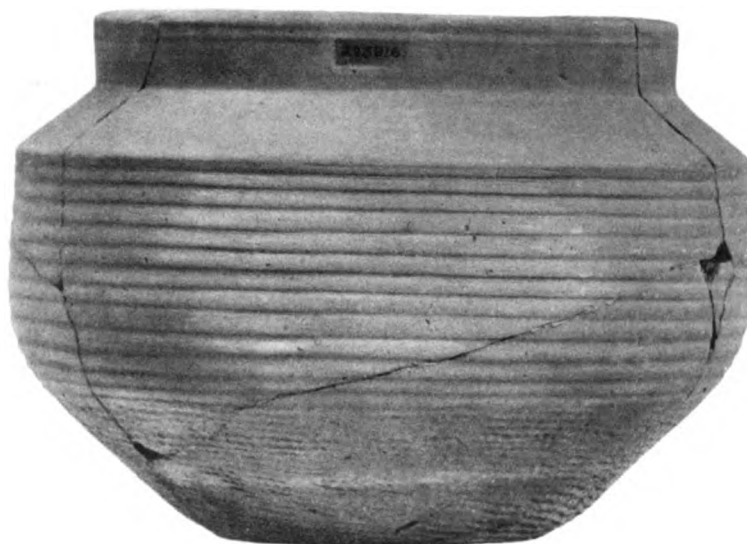
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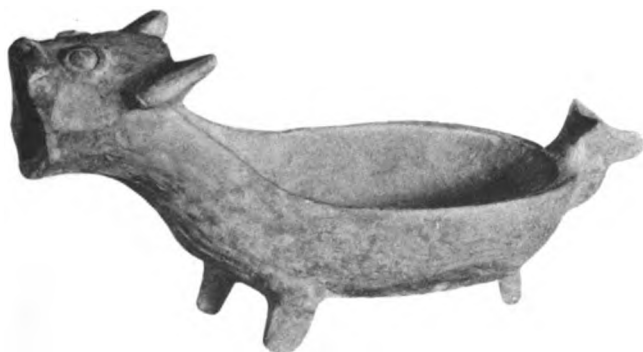
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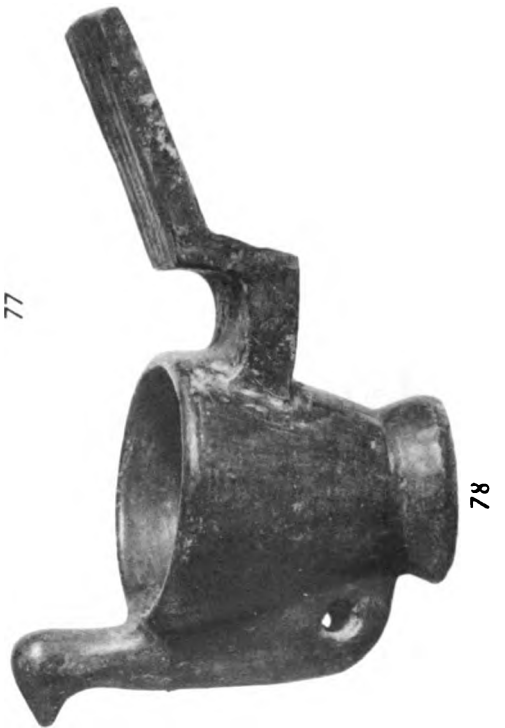
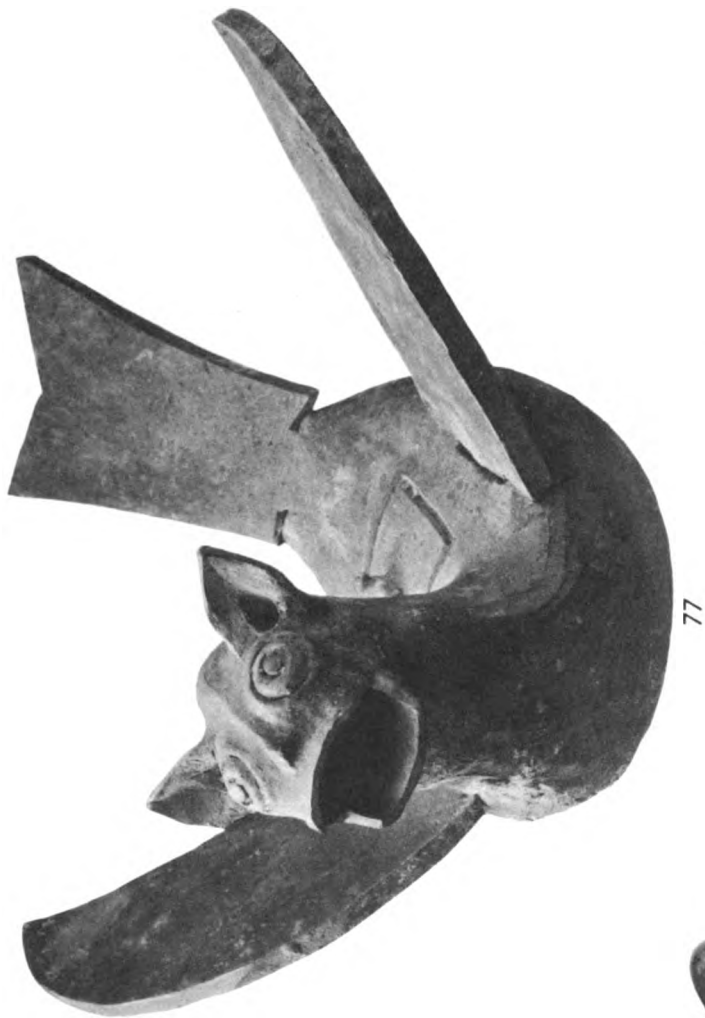


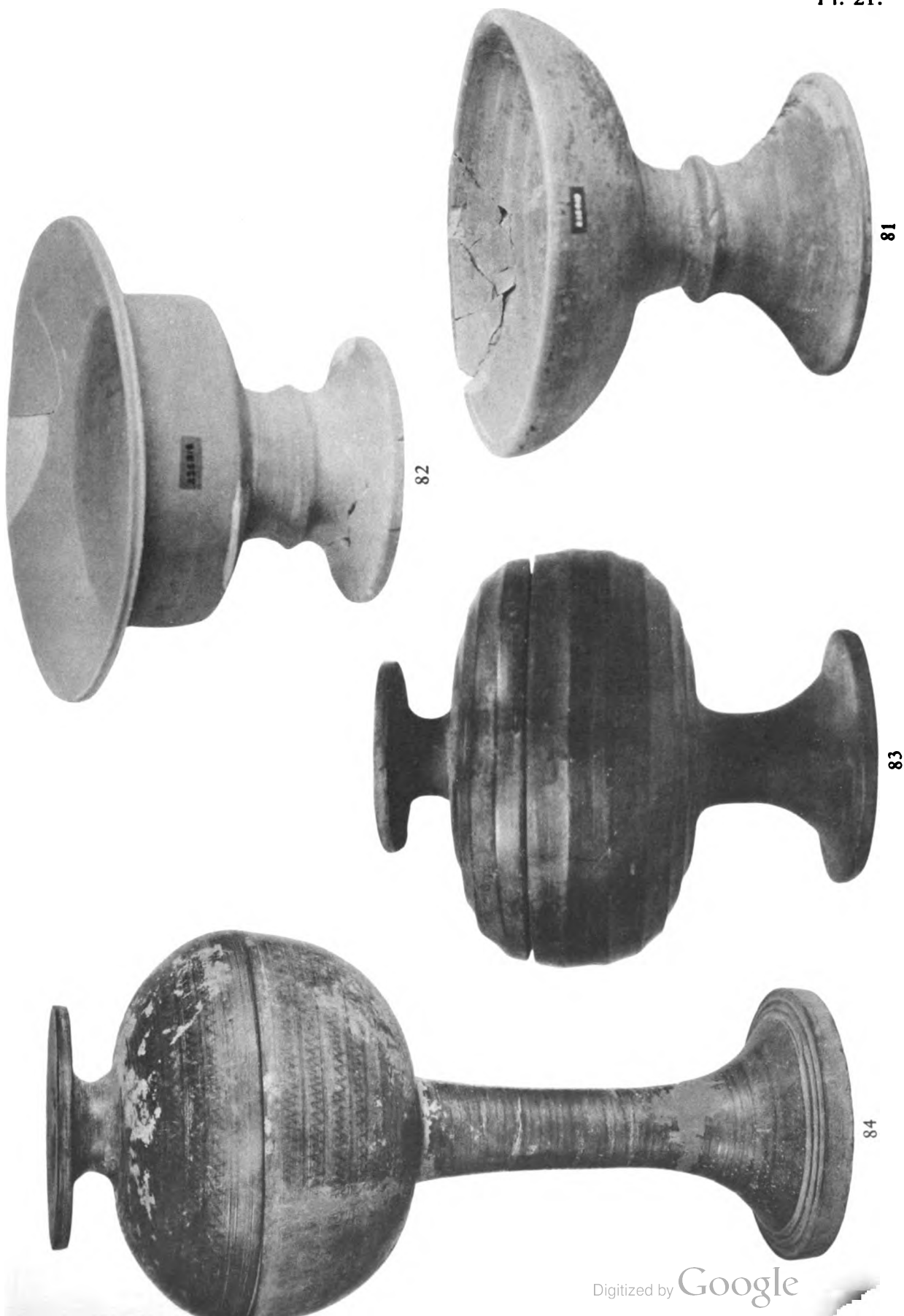
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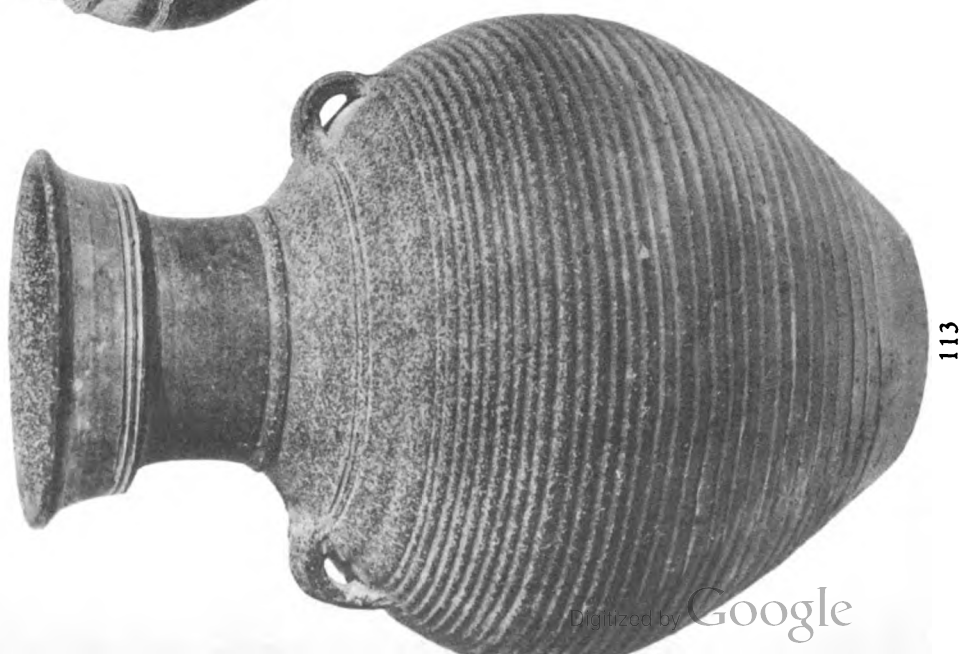
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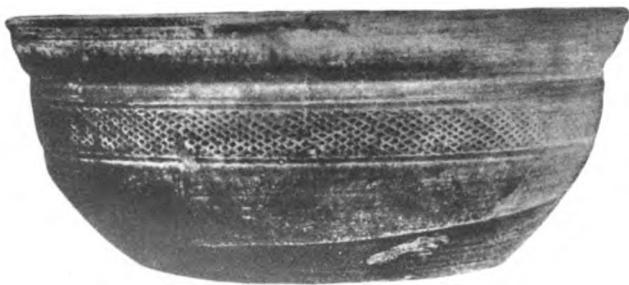
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